

**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona
Volume XV
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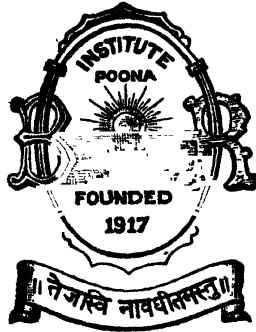
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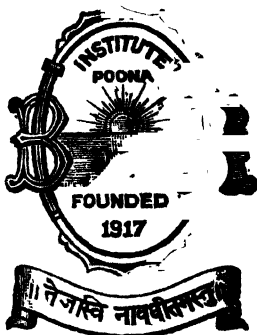
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[PARTS I-II

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA FROM SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph. D., M. A., B. L.

INTRODUCTION

I. Scope of the subject —

The title of the paper is perhaps sufficiently explanatory to give the readers an idea of the subject with which it deals. In my book — *Geography of Early Buddhism* — recently published,¹ I have attempted to present a geographical picture of ancient India as can be drawn from Pāli texts. Here, however, my attempt has been to follow up the same subject of investigation drawing materials from Sanskrit Buddhist texts. It is thus practically a supplement to my work just referred to.

Texts or narratives of a purely historical or geographical nature are very rare in the literature of the northern and southern Buddhists and whatever geographical information can be gathered are mainly incidental. The items, therefore, that go to build up the ancient geography of India are naturally scattered amid a mass of other subjects, and can hardly present a general view. These items of geographical and topographical information require, therefore, to be very carefully examined and assembled

¹ Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 38 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1. 1932. Price Rs. 2, 90 pp. with a map.

together from a variety of sources — literary, epigraphic, monumental and traditional — before we can present a complete geographical picture of Buddhist India.

II. *Sources: their nature and value* — Of literary sources for a systematic exposition of geography of Buddhism, Pāli literature, is undoubtedly the most important, for 'the localities mentioned in the Pāli writings (even in the Jātakas) belong for the most part to the real world; the cities of fiction, so abundant in Sanskrit literature appear but little, if at all.'¹ From a time when Indian history emerges from confusion and uncertainties of semi-historical legends and traditions to a more definite historical plane, that is from about the time of the Buddha to about the time of Aśoka the Great, the literature of the early Buddhists is certainly the main, if not the only, source of the historical and geographical information of ancient India, supplemented, however, by Jain and Brahmanical sources here and there. Even for later periods when epigraphical and archæological sources are abundant, and literary sources are mainly Brahmanical or are derived from foreign treatises such as those of Greek geographers and Chinese travellers, the importance of geographical information as supplied by Pāli texts is considerable. But it cannot be said in the same manner of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts as they are later in date and therefore their value is less than that of the Pāli texts, most of which are much earlier in date. Moreover, the information contained in the Pāli texts of countries and places, cities and villages, rivers and lakes, hills and mountains, parks and forests are more exhaustive and elaborate than that available from the Sanskrit Buddhist texts which are later in date. The limited chips of information available from the Sanskrit Buddhist texts are almost irritating in their repetitions, as, for example, in the Mahāvastu, or Aśokāvadāna, or Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, or Lalitavistara, or Avadānasataka. Cities of fiction which are no part of the real world are abundant in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Countries like Ratnadvīpa and Khandidīpa (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā), cities like Vandhu-

¹ Prof. F. W. Thomas in his Foreword to my "Geography of Early Buddhism".

matī and Puṇyavatī, and mountains like Trisāṅku and Dhūmanetra are often mentioned. They admit hardly of any identification, and help only to add to the legendary element pervading most of the accounts of these Sanskrit Buddhist texts. These Sanskrit Buddhist texts, otherwise very important from religious and philosophical points of view, contain hardly any contemporary evidence of a historical or geographical character. Geographically or historically they speak of remote times ; and these remote times are but the years and centuries of early Buddhism which is almost practically covered by the Pāli texts. The Mahāvastu-avadāna, an important Sanskrit Buddhist text, speaks mostly of the life of the Buddha in his former and present existences ; the Lalitavistara and the Buddha-Carita Kāvya also refer to the life of the Buddha. The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā gives a number of stories relating to former existences of the Buddha, while the Aśokāvadāna speaks of Aśoka and his times. They may differ here a little and there a bit more, but geographically and historically speaking they hardly do so on any essential point. It seems that very few Sanskrit Buddhist texts are important from our standpoint but they have a great corroborative value, and should have thus their share of importance. It is very often that they bear out the evidences of the earlier Pāli texts and help to solve the riddles and clear the obscure points presented by them. In several cases, though they are not many, they introduce us to new and independent chips of information, useful and interesting from a geographical point of view.

The Sanskrit Buddhist books were in fact mostly written from the 6th century onwards to the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. They contain the most important contemporary evidence so far as the religious history is concerned but geographically they speak of very remote times. This is somewhat amusing. For already by the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, the whole of the Indian continent with its major divisions and sub-divisions, its countries, provinces, cities, rivers, mountains, etc., had become too widely known to its people. Contemporary epigraphic, literary and monumental evidences abound with information regarding many geographical details. More than that, Indians of those centuries had also planted their political,

cultural and commercial outposts and colonies not only in Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) but also in Java and Sumatra, Champa and Kamboj. Their priests and missionaries had already travelled to China and Central Asia, carrying with them, the Sanskrit Buddhist texts which we are speaking of. But it is difficult to find in them any idea of this far wider geographical knowledge and outlook of the times. Even the Indian continent is not fully represented in its contemporary geographical information.

III. *Divisions of India* — Sanskrit Buddhist texts give us no glimpse as to the size and shape of the country. For the conception of the shape of India we have, however, to turn to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, a Pāli text and to the itinerary of Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller.¹ Nor have we any such conception of the world and the place India occupies in the system in the same way as we have in the Brahmanical conception contained in the Purāṇas and the epics. According to the Brahmanical conception the world is said to have consisted of seven concentric islands — Jambu, Sāka, Kusa, Sāmāla, Krauñca, Gomeda and Puṣkara — encircled by seven samudras, the order, however, varying in different sources. Of these islands, the Jambudvīpa is the most alluded to in various sources and is the one which is generally identified with Bhārata-varṣa, the Indian Peninsula.

The Buddhist system also includes Jambudvīpa as one of the islands (i.e., continents) that comprise the world. It has a detailed description in the Visuddhimagga (Visuddhimagga, I. pp. 205-206; cf. Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39 and Atthasālinī p. 298) and is mentioned again and again in various other Pāli texts. When opposed to Sīhaladīpa, Jambudvīpa means, as Childers points out (Pāli Dictionary, p. 165), the continent of India, but it is difficult to be definite on this point. We have references to Jambudvīpa in Sanskrit Buddhist texts as well, as for example in the Mahāvastu (III. p. 67), the Lalitavistara (Ch. XII) and the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (78th Pallava, 9). According to the Mahāvastu Indian merchants made sea

¹ Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro. p. xix.

voyages for trade from the Jambudvīpa.¹ They were once shipwrecked ; but living on vegetables they succeeded in saving their lives and came to an island inhabited by female demons. The *Lalitavistara* states that the Jambudvīpa is distinguished from three other dvīpas – the Uttarakuru dvīpa, the Aparagodānīya dvīpa and the Pūrvavideha dvīpa (p. 19). Uttarakuru is mentioned as early as Vedic times and is probably a semi-mythical country beyond the Himālayas, Aparagodānīya is difficult to be identified, but Pūrvavideha must certainly be identified with a portion of the Videha country the chief city of which was Mithilā. If that be so, it is difficult to understand why Pūrvavideha is distinguished from the Jambudvīpa which is supposed to be identical with the Indian continent. The *Lalitavistara* (p. 149) further states that the Jambudvīpa was only 7,000 thousand yojanas in extent, while the Godānīya, the Pūrvavideha, and the Uttarakuru dvīpas were 8,000, 9000 and 10,000 thousand yojanas in extent respectively. The Jambudvīpa was thus the smallest in extent, but according to Buddhaghosa, the Jambudvīpa was 10,000 yojanas in extent, and it was called mahā or great (*Su-maṅgalavilāsinī*, II, p. 429). The evidences are, therefore, conflicting and do not help us in identifying the division with any amount of certainty.

Indian literature, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, divides India into five traditional divisions. But the five divisions are not definitely and explicitly stated anywhere in Pāli or Sanskrit texts. A detailed description of the Majjhimadeśa or the Middle country is as old as the Vinaya Piṭaka as well as the references to the Majjhimadeśa in the Pāli texts : but an accurate description of the four other divisions of India is not found except in Yuan Chwang's itineraries. The remaining four divisions, e. g., the Uttarāpatha, the Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Aparānta or the Western country and the Prācya or Eastern country are more suggested by the description of the boundaries of the Middle country than by any independent statement. The reason of the emphasis on the Madhyadeśa is very clear. As with the Brahmanical Aryans so with the Buddhists, Middle country was the centre of

¹ Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 128.

their activities and much attention was paid by them to this tract of land in particular.

Sanskrit Buddhist texts refer at least to three divisions of India, e. g., the Madhyadeśa, the land *par excellence* of Buddhism, the Uttarāpatha and the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The latter two are mentioned in name only, there is no defining of their boundaries nor is there any description of the countries or regions that constitute the divisions. Two other divisions, namely the Aparānta or the western and the Prācya or the eastern are not referred to even in name, but are suggested by the boundary of the Madhyadeśa which is given in some detail in the Divyāvadāna (pp.21-22). :

“Pūrvenopālī Puṇḍāvardhanaṁ nāma
nagaraṁ tasya pūrveṇa Puṇḍakakṣo nāma
parvataḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ ।
dakṣiṇeṇa Sarāvati nāma nagari
tasyāḥ pareṇa Sarāvati nāma nadi
so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ ।

paścimena Sthūnopasthūnakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau so 'ntaḥ,
tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ ।

uttareṇa Usiragiriḥ so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ ।

The boundaries of the Madhyadeśa defined here may be described as having extended in the east to the city of Puṇḍravardhana¹, to the east of which was the Puṇḍakākṣa mountain, in the south to the city of Sarāvati (Salalavati of the Mahāvagga) on the river of the same name, in the west to the twin Brāhmaṇa villages of Sthūna² and Upasthūna and in the north to the Usiragiri mountain³ (Usiradhaja of the Mahāvagga). According to the Saundarananda Kāvya (Ch. II. v. 62), however, the Madhyadeśa is said to have been situated between the Himālayas and the Pāriṣātra (Pāriyātra) mountain, a branch of the Vindhya. The description of the boundary of the Madhyadeśa, as given in the Divyāvadāna, is almost the same as that of the Mahāvagga.⁴

¹ Puṇḍravardhana in ancient times included Vareundra; roughly identical with North Bengal.

² Sthūna is identified by some with Thaneswar (Thūna of the Mahāvagga). CAGI. Intro. p. xliii. f. n. 2.

³ Usiragiri is identical with a mountain of the same name, north of Kankhal (Hardwar) I. A., 1905., p. 179.

⁴ Vinaya Texts, S. B. E., vol. xvii pp. 38-39.

Majjhimadesa of the Pāli text may be described as having extended in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala, in the south-east to the river Salalāvati, in the south to the town of Satakannika, in the west to the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūpa and in the north to the Uṣiradhaja mountain. The Divyāvadāna differs only in the fact that it extends the eastern boundary of the Majjhimadesa still farther to the east so as to include Puṇḍravardhana.

The Uttarāpatha or the northern division is referred to in name in the Divyāvadāna (p. 315) as well as in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (16th p. 19; 103 p. 4). The Dakṣiṇāpatha extended southwards beyond the Sarāvati river and the Pāripātra mountain and is mentioned in the Mahāvastu, the Aśokāvadāna, the Gaṇḍavyūha and other texts. The Gaṇḍavyūha, however, gives a long list of place names which are all included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

MADHYADEŚA

As in the Pāli texts, so in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts as well, Madhyadeśa is the country that is elaborately noticed. Its towns and cities, parks and gardens, lakes and rivers have been mentioned time and again. Its villages have not also been neglected. It seems, therefore, that the Middle country was exclusively the world in which the early Buddhists confined themselves. It was in an eastern district of the Madhyadeśa that Gotama became the Buddha, and the drama of his whole life was staged on the plains of the Middle country. He travelled independently or with his disciples from city to city, and village to village moving as it were within a circumscribed area. The demand near home was so great and insistent that he had no occasion during his lifetime to stir outside the limits of the Middle country. And as early Buddhism is mainly concerned with his life and the propagation of his teaching, Buddhist literature that speaks of the times, therefore, abounds with geographical information mainly of the Madhyadeśa within the limits of which the first converts to the religion confined themselves. The border countries and kingdoms were undoubtedly known and were often visited by Buddhist monks, but those of the distant south or north or north-west seem to have been known only by names handed down to them by

traditions. But with the progress of time, Buddhism spread itself beyond the boundaries of the Middle country, and its priests and preachers were out for making new converts. their geographical knowledge naturally expanded itself, and by the time Aśoka became emperor of almost the whole of India, it had come to embrace not only Gandhāra and Kamboja on one side, and Puṇḍra and Kalinga on the other, but also the other countries that later on came to be occupied by the Cheras, Cholas and Pāṇḍyas. The position of the early Buddhists as regards their geographical knowledge may thus be stated. They were primarily concerned with the Middle country, the centre of Buddha's activities, but even as early as the Buddha's time they knew the entire tract of country from Gandhāra and Kamboja to Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kalinga on one side and from Kāśmīra to Aśmaka, Vidarbha and Māhismati on the other. The early Buddhists had not had much knowledge of these outlying tracts which are mentioned only when their incidental relations with the Madhyadeśa are related or recalled.

Boundary — Of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, it is only in the Divyāvadāna that there is any detailed reference to the boundaries of the Madhyadeśa. It may be described as having extended in the east as far as the city of Puṇḍravardhana, in the south to the city of Sarāvati on the river of the same name, in the west to the twin brahmin villages of Sthūpa and Upasthūpa, and in the north to the Uśragiri mountain. According to the Saundarānanda Kāvya (chap. II. V. 62), however, the Madhyadeśa is said to have been situated between the Himālayas and the Pāripātra (= Pāriyātra) mountain, a branch of the Vindhya.¹ The description of the boundary of the Madhyadeśa as given in the Divyāvadāna is almost the same as given in the Pāli Vinaya text, the Mahāvagga. (Vinaya texts, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39). It differs only in the fact that the Sanskrit text extends the eastern boundary of the Middle country a bit farther to the east — the Mahāvagga having the eastern boundary as extending up to the town of Kajaṅgala only — so as to include Puṇḍravardhana.

¹ This description of the boundary of the Madhyadeśa agrees favourably with that stated of the particular division in the Brahmanical Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras, e. g., in the Codes of Manu. (Cf. Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro. p. xx.)

It is, therefore, obvious that the Buddhist holy land had by the time the Divyāvadāna came to be written extended up to Puṇḍravardhana.

The Mahāvastu records a very interesting fact with regard to the religious creed of the Madhyadeśikas or inhabitants of the Madhyadeśa. They are all qualified as "Lokottaravādins" (Lokottaravādinām Madhyadeśikānām, Vol. I. p. 2), i. e., following a particular creed of Mahāyāna Buddhism known as Lokottaravāda. This seems, however, to be a coloured statement.

The sixteen Mahājanapadas and other important cities and countries of Madhyadeśa: Of the well-known list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or big states¹ enumerated in the Pāli texts (Aṅguttara Nikāya Vol. I. p. 213; IV. pp. 252, 256, 260) the Mahāvastu has in a certain place the traditional record (Vol. II. p. 2, "Jambudvīpe ṣoḍaśahi Mahājanapadehi") but there is no enumeration of the list. A similar reference, but without the traditional list, is also made in the Lalitavistara (sarvasmin Jambudvīpe ṣoḍaśa Jānapadeṣu, p. 22). The Mahāvastu, however, in a different connection seems to enumerate a list of sixteen states or Mahājanapadas. There we read that Gautama once repaired to the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa hills at Rājagṛha and was honoured by both gods and men. He distributed knowledge among the people of Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Kāśī, Kośala, Cedi, Vatsa, Matsya, Sūrasena, Kuru, Pañcāla, Śivi, Daśārṇa, Assaka and Avanti (Vol. I. p. 34). This list, however, differs from that given in the Pāli texts inasmuch as it excludes the Mahājanapadas of Gandhāra and Kamboja but includes Śivi and Daśārṇa instead. The order of the enumeration is also somewhat different.

Aṅga — Aṅga is very sparingly referred to in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. The Mahāvastu (Vol. I, p. 120) however, refers to a legend of King Brahmadatta, king of Benares, who had once been born as R̥ṣabha, a bull, in the kingdom of Aṅga. Its capital

¹ They are :- (1) and (2) Kāśī-Kośala, (3) and (4) Aṅga-Magadha, (5) and (6) Vajji-Malla, (7) and (8) Cedi-Vaṃśa, (9) and (10) Kuru-Pañcāla, (11) and (12) Maccha-Sūrasena, (13) and (14) Assaka-Avanti, (15) and (16) Gandhāra-Kamboja. See Geography of Early Buddhism. pp. 2-23.

was evidently Campāpurī mentioned in the *Aśokāvadāna* (R. L. Mitra, Nepalese Buddhist literature, later on referred to as NBL, p. 8) wherein it is stated that when Bindusāra was reigning at Pāṭaliputra, a brahman of Campāpurī presented to him a daughter named Subhadrāṅgī. Aṅga, as is well-known, is identical with modern Bhagalpur. The *Lalitavistara* refers to a script or alphabet of the Aṅga country which the Bodhisattva is said to have mastered (pp. 125-26).

Magadha — Like Aṅga, Magadha is also very sparingly referred to in Sanskrit Buddhist texts. There are some references to the kingdom of Magadha in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. I. 34, 289 ; II. 419 ; III. 47, 90, etc.), the *Avadāna Śataka* (Ibid. pp. 24-25) and in other minor texts, but they have hardly any geographical import. The Buddha had, however, innumerable travels in Magadha in course of which he crossed the Ganges several times (Ibid). Ārya Avalokiteśvara is also said to have once passed through Magadha (Ibid, *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, p. 95). The *Saptakumārika Avadāna* (Ibid, p. 222) refers to a large tank named Citragarbha in Magadha. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 425) Magadha is described as a beautiful city with all kinds of gems. In the *Lalitavistara* (p. 20) the *Vaidehikula* of Magadha is referred to. The *Vaidehikula* was suggested by one of the *Devaputras* as a royal family in which the Bodhisattva might be born in his future existence. But he preferred to be born of the Śākya race of Kapilavastu. According to the *Lalitavistara*, the Magadha country seems to have had a separate alphabet which the Bodhisattva is credited to have mastered (pp. 125-26). The people of Magadha, i. e., the *Māgadhiikas* or *Māgadhakas* are referred to more than once in the *Lalitavistara* (pp. 318 and 398).

But its capital Pāṭaliputra is more often mentioned. At the time of the Buddha it was a great city (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 544). The same authority informs us that a bridge of boats was built between Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra. Thera Upagupta went to the Magadhan capital by boat accompanied by 18,000 arhats in order to receive favour from King Aśoka. The Thera was, however, very cordially received by the king (pp. 386-87). There at the *Kukkuṭārāma vihāra* where King Aśoka had erected eighty-four thousand stūpas and caityas (*Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* : 69th

p. 6-7) Thera Upagupta divulged the most mysterious secrets of Buddhism to Aśoka (N. B. L. : Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha p. 95). At the time of Susīma, son of Vindusāra, a beautiful daughter of a brahman of Campā was brought to Pāṭaliputra and presented to the wife of King Bimbisāra. This girl showed the light of intelligence to the inmates of the harem. She remained as a playmate and companion of the chief queen who later on gave birth to a son who became known as Vigataśoka (Div. 369-70, Aśokāvadāna, N. B. L. p. 8). The Aśokāvadāna refers to Pāṭaliputra as having once been attacked by Susīma when his younger brother Aśoka was reigning, but Susīma was overpowered (N. B. L., p. 9). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (31, p. 3, 73, p. 2) refers to Pāṭaliputra as having once been ruled by a virtuous King Purandara. The Mahāvastu (III, p. 231) refers to a capital city named Puspāvati (Puspāvati nāma rājadhāni) which is probably identical with Pāṭaliputra.

Rājagṛha — According to the Lalitavistara, Rājagṛha is said to have been included in Magadha (" Magadheṣu Rājagṛha " - p. 246). It is referred to in the same text as a city of the Māgadhakas (p. 239). It is described as Magadhapura or the capital city of Magadha (Ibid. p. 243) and was a Mahānagara or a great city where once Mātāṅga, a Pratyeka-Buddha was wandering. The ancient name of the city was Girivraja. The city was adorned with beautiful palaces, well-guarded, decorated with mountains, supported and hallowed by sacred places and distinguished by the five hills (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Book X, verse 2). It was much frequented by the Buddha. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 545), Rājagṛha is described as a rich, prosperous and populous city at the time of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. The same text informs us that in order to go from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha one had to cross the Ganges by boats kept either by King Ajātaśatru of Magadha or by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. It is obvious, therefore, that the Ganges formed boundary between the kingdom of Magadha and republican territory of the Licchavis, and that both the Magadhans and the Licchavis had equal rights over the river. The route from Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī was infested with thieves who used to rob the merchants of their merchandise

(pp. 94-95). It is interesting to note that Rājagṛha was an important centre of inland trade where merchants flocked from different quarters (Div. p. 307) to buy and sell their merchandise. At Rājagṛha there used to be held a festival known as Giriagrāsamāja when thousands of people assembled in hundreds of gardens. Songs were sung, musical instruments were played and theatrical performances were held with great pomp (Mahāvastu, Vol. III, p. 57).

In and around the city of Rājagṛha there was a number of important localities hallowed by the history of their associations with the Buddha and Buddhism. They were the Veṇuvana on the side of the Kalandakanivāpa, the Nāradaḡrāma, the Kukkuṭārāma-vihāra, the Ḡṛdhrakūṭa hill, the Yaṣṭivana, the Uruvilvagrāma, the Prabhāsavana on the Ḡṛdhrakūṭa hill, the Kolitaḡrāma, etc. The Veṇuvana is repeatedly mentioned (e. g. in the Avadānaśatakam and elsewhere) as it was a very favourite haunt of the Buddha. The Bhadrakalpāvadāna (N. B. L., p. 45) refers to the Nāradaḡrāma while the Mahā-sahasra-Pramardini refers (N. B. L., p. 166) to the Prabhāsavana on the Ḡṛdhrakūṭa hill. The Ḡṛdhrakūṭa hill is also repeatedly

Prabhāsavana
Ḡṛdhrakūṭa hill mentioned, and the Buddha used to dwell here most often when he happened to visit Rājagṛha.¹ The scene of most of the later Sanskrit Buddhist texts is also laid on the Ḡṛdhrakūṭa hill (e. g., of the Prajñāpāramitā Aṣṭasahasrikā, the Saddharmapundarika, etc.). The village of

Kolitaḡrāma Kolita was very largely populated, and was situated at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagṛha. The

Kalandakanivāpa Kalandaka or Keraṇḡakanivāpa, (tank) was situated near the Veṇuvana at Rājagṛha (N. B. L., Avadānaśatakam p. 17, p. 23, Divyāvadāna, pp. 143, 554). It

seems that there were two vihāras named Kukkuṭārāma-vihāra Kukkuṭārāma, one at Pāṭaliputra (N. B. L. Aśokāvadāna, pp. 9-10); Kalpadrumāvadāna, p. 293), and another at or near Rājagṛha (N. B. L., Dvāvimśāvadāna, p. 85). The

¹ N. B. L.—Kavikumārakathā, p. 102; Mahāvastu (Senarts' Ed.). Vol. I, pp. 34 & 54, Sukhāvatī-Vyuha, N. B. L., p. 236, Suvarṇaprabhāsā, N. B. L. p. 241, Divyāvadāna, p. 314, etc.

Mahāvastu (Vol. III. p. 441) has a reference to the famous
Yaśṭivana Yaśṭivana which was once visited by the
 Buddha accompanied by a large number of
 bhikkhus. The same text (Vol. I. p. 70) refers to the
Saptaparṇa cave Saptaparṇa cave in Rājagṛha (“ Puravare bhavatu
 Rājagṛhesmin Saptaparṇa abhidhānaguhāyām ”).

Vajji — The tribe of the Vajjis or Vṛjis included, according to
 Cunningham and Prof. Rhys Davids, atthakulas or eight con-
 federate clans among whom the Videhans, the Vṛjikas,¹ and the
 Licchavis were the most important. Other confederate clans were
 probably Jñātrkas, Ugras, Bhojas and Aikṣvākas. The Videha
 clan had its seat at Mithilā which is recorded in the Brāhmaṇas
 and the Purāṇas to have originally a monarchical constitution.

Vaiśālī — The Vṛjikas are often associated with the city of
 Vaiśālī which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but
 also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. Vaiśālī was a great
 city of the Madhyadeśa and is identical with modern Besarh in
 the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. The city which resembled the
 city of the gods was at the time of the Buddha, happy, proud,
 prosperous and rich with abundant food, charming and delightful,
 crowded with many and various people, adorned with buildings
 of various descriptions, storied mansions, buildings and palaces
 with towers, noble gateways, triumphal arches, covered courtyards,
 and charming with beds of flowers, in her numerous gardens
 and groves.

And lastly, the Lalitavistara claims that the city rivalled the
 domain of the immortals in beauty (Lefmann, Ch. III. p. 21;
 Mahāvastu, Vol. I. pp. 253 ff). More than once did the Buddha
 visit this wonderful city at which he once looked with an elephant
 look (Div. p. 208). Once in the vicinity of this city, while

Markaṭa lake dwelling in a lofty tower on the Markaṭa lake,
 the Lord went out on a begging excursion (N. B. L., Avadānaśataka, p. 18; Div. p. 208). By the side of the
Markaṭa lake there was the Kūṭāgāra where the
Kūṭāgāra Buddha once took up his dwelling (Bodhisattvā-
 vadāna-Kalpalatā, 90th p. 73, N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 12). We are

¹ According to the Divyāvadāna, the Vaiśālīakas and the Licchavis were
 two different confederate clans (pp. 55-56; 136).

told in the *Mahāvastu* that a brahmin named *Ālāra Kālāma* who was an inhabitant of *Vaiśālī* once gave instructions to the *Śramaṇas* (Vol. II. p. 118). The *Licchavis* of *Vaiśālī* made a gift of many *caityas* (e.g., the *Saptāmra caitya*, the *Bahuputra caitya*, the *Gotama caitya*, the *Kapinhya caitya*, the *Markaṭahradatīra caitya*) to the Buddha and the Buddhist Church. *Ambapālī*, the famous courtesan of *Vaiśālī* also made the gift of her extensive mango grove to the Buddhist congregation (*Law's Study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 44). In the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* it is said that the *Vaiśālīkas* or the inhabitants of *Vaiśālī* or *Viśālā* made a rule to the effect that daughters of individuals should be enjoyed by *gaṇas*, and should not, therefore, be married (20th. p. 38).

The *Videha* clan had its seat at *Mithilā*¹ which is recorded in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Purāṇas* to have originally a monarchical constitution. In Sanskrit Buddhist texts (e. g., in the *Lalitavistara*, pp. 19, 125, 149 etc. as well as in other texts) mention is made of a *dvīpa* called *Pūrvavideha-dvīpa* along with three other *dvīpas*, namely, the *Aparagodāniya*, the *Uttarakuru*, and the *Jambudvīpa*. *Dvīpa* is obviously used here in the sense of a country, but it is difficult to ascertain which country is meant by *Pūrvavideha-dvīpa*. The *Lalitavistara* refers to the script or alphabet of the *Pūrvavideha-dvīpa*, which the Lord Buddha is said to have mastered in his boyhood (p. 126). The same text refers to the extent of the four respective *dvīpas*; the *Pūrvavideha-dvīpa* is credited to have been nine thousand *yojanas* in extent.

Videha is often referred to as a *Janapada* whose capital was *Mithilā* (" *Vaideha Janapade Mithilāyām Rājadhānyām* " : *Mahāvastu*, Vol. III., p. 172, also Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, " *Videheṣu Janapadeṣu gatvā prabrajitah*, " p. 424). In the *Lalitavistara* the *Videha* dynasty is described as wealthy, prosperous, amiable and generous (chap. III). The *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* refers to the city of *Mithilā* in *Videha* ruled by a king named *Puṣpadeva* having two pious sons, *Candra* and *Sūrya* (83, p. 9). The *Bodhisattva*, in one of his previous births as *Maheśa*, the

¹ *Mithilā* is, however, identified by some scholars with the small town of *Janakapur* just within the Nepal border. *Videha* is identical with ancient *Tirabhukti*, that is, modern *Tirhut*.

renowned elephant of Benares, was invited by the people of Mithilā to cure them of an epidemic (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I. pp. 286-288). In another of his former existences, the Lord was born as the munificent King Vijitāvi of Mithilā. He was banished from his kingdom and took his abode in a leaf-hut near the Himālayas (*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 41). Two miles from Mithilā, there was a village, named Javakacchaka; where Mahāusadha, a brahmin, had his residence (*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 83).

The country of the Mallas is referred to in the *Dvāvimśavadāna* (N. B. L., p. 86). The same source refers to a village, Kus'i by name, in the country of the Mallas. The *Mukutabandhana caitya* of the Mallas, as well as the twin sāla trees of Kuśinārā where the Lord lay in his parinirvāṇa are alluded to more than once in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 208, 209 : " parinirvāṇāya gamiṣyati Mallānāṃ upavartanam yamakaśālavanam "). Anomiya was an important city in the Malla kingdom. This city which was once visited by the Bodhisattva was situated near the hermitage of sage Vāsistha in the Malla kingdom to the south of Kapilavastu at a distance of 12 yojanas (*Mahāvastu*, II, 164).

The capital of the Kāśī country was Bārāṇasī (modern Benares). The Tathāgata once said : " Bārāṇasīm gamiṣyāmi gatvā vai Kāśināmapurīm " (*Lalitavistara*, p. 406); evidently Kāśī was the larger unit, i.e., the janapada, and Bārāṇasī was the capital (purī) of the Kāśīs or the people of Kāśī. ¹ That Kāśī was a janapada is attested to by the same text (*Ibid*. p. 405). Its capital Bārāṇasī finds a prominent place in the literature of Hindus and Buddhists alike, and is again and again mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. In the *Mahāvastu*, Bārāṇasī is mentioned to have been situated on the bank of the river Varanā (Vol. III, p. 402); but according to the *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* Bārāṇasī was on the Ganges (6th, p. 31 and 32). In the *Divyāvadāna* the city is described as prosperous, extensive

¹ Reference is made in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 215) of a certain kind of cloth called Kāśīka-vastra which was most probably manufactured in Kāśī.

populous, and a place where alms could easily be obtained (p. 73). It was not oppressed by deceitful and quarrelsome people (Ibid. p. 98). The Buddha once set out to go to Kāśī manifesting, as he went, the manifold supernatural course of life of the Magadha people (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. XV, v. 90). The city of Bārāṇasī was hallowed by the feet of the Buddha (Sarvārthasiddha) who came here to preach his excellent doctrine. He gave a discourse on the Dharmacakrapravartana (Wheel of Law) sūtra in the Deer Park near Benares, a fact which is again and again referred to in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts (Saundarānanda Kāvya,²¹ Ch. III, vs. 10-11: Cf. Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. XV, v. 87; Lalitavistara, pp. 412-13, etc.)

Benares was a great trading centre of Buddhist India. Rich merchants of the city used to cross over high seas with ships laden with merchandise. One such merchant once crossed over to the Rākṣasī island which, however, is difficult to be identified (Mahāvastu, III. p. 286). A wealthy merchant came to Benares from Takṣaśīlā (mod. Taxila) with the object of carrying on trade (Ibid., II., pp. 166-167). The Divyāvadāna informs us that a caravan trader reached Benares from Uttarāpatha during the reign of King Brahmadaṭṭa who heard him saying thus: "Now I have reached Benares, bringing with me articles for sale." He was welcomed by the king who gave him shelter (pp. 510 ff).

Kāśī came in conflict with Kośala several times and each time the king of Kāśī was defeated. At last when he was going to make desperate final attack the king of Kośala refused to fight and abdicated his throne (Mahāvastu, III., p. 349).

Brahmadatta, king of Benares, is said to have once apprehended that a great famine lasting for 12 years would visit Benares. He, therefore, asked the inhabitants of the kingdom to leave the city, but those who had enough provisions were permitted to remain. A large number of people died on account of the famine, but one person who had enormous wealth in his possession gave alms to a Pratyeka-Buddha who went to him. The wife of the person prayed in return for a boon to the effect that a pot of rice cooked by her would be sufficient for hundreds of thousands of people. Her husband prayed that his granaries might always be kept filled up with paddy, and the son in his turn prayed that his

treasures might always be full of wealth although he might spend as much as he liked. All the boons prayed for were granted (Div. , pp. 132 ff).

In the Śikṣāsamuccaya (tr. by Bendall) of Śāntideva, a king of Benares is referred to have given his flesh to a hawk to save a dove (p. 99). Another king of Kāśī made a gift of an elephant to a king of Videha on his request. At this time a deadly disease was raging in the kingdom of Videha ; but as soon as the elephant stepped on the borders of Mithilā, the disease disappeared (Mahāvastu, I. p. 286 ff). The same source informs us that there once lived in Benares a king whose kingdom extended up to Taxila (Ibid. II. p. 82).

Kośala, during the days of early Buddhism, was an important kingdom and its king Prasenajit an important figure (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 100th, p. 2)
 Kośala
 Kulmāspindī, another king of Kośala, is claimed in the Bodhisattvāvadāna to have been none other than the Lord Buddha himself (N. B. L. p. 50). Another virtuous king of Kośala to avoid bloodshed in a war with the king of Kāśī abdicated his throne and went to a voluntary exile. In his exile he greatly helped a merchant who in a later existence came to be born as Ajñāta Kaundinya (Mahāvastu, N. B. L. , p. 156).

That the ancient Kośala kingdom was divided into two great divisions, the river Sarayū serving as the wedge between the two, is suggested by the Avadānaśataka (N. B. L. p. 20) wherein a reference is made to a war between the kings of North and South Kośala.

Māra karaṇḍa was a locality in the kingdom of Kośala (Mahāvastu, Vol. I. p. 319).

The most important capital city of Kośala was 'Śrāvastī'.¹ This city was full of kings, princes, their councillors, ministers and followers, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, householders, etc. (Latitavistara, Ch. I). There at 'Śrāvastī' was the
 Śrāvastī

¹ Śrāvastī is identical with the great ruined city on the south bank of the Raptī called Saheth-Maheth.

Sāketa was another capital of the Kośala kingdom. In the Mahāvastu Avadāna (Mahāvastu, Senarts' Ed., Vol. I., p. 348) we read that Sujāta, one of the descendants of Māndhātā became king of the Ikṣvākus in the great city Sāketa. The city is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (3rd, P. 2) to have been adorned with domes.

3 [Annals, B. O., R. I.]

famous garden of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana frequently referred to in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. There the Buddha stayed with his retinue of bhikkhus for a number of times and received hundreds of householders as followers and disciples. The Divyāvadāna informs us that Mahākātyāyana desirous of going to Madhyadeśa first reached Sindhu and then Śrāvastī (p. 581). Merchants of Śrāvastī went to Ceylon crossing over the high seas (N. B. L. Avadānaśataka p. 19; cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 7th, p. 50). In the city of Śrāvastī a poor brahmin named Svastika took to cultivation to earn his livelihood (Ibid. 61st P. 2). It was in this city that the Buddha gave religious instructions to the citizens whose darkness of ignorance was thereby dispelled (Ibid. 6th, p. 3; 79th p. 2; 82nd p. 2). The royal family of the Kośalas is referred to in the Lalitavistara (pp. 20-21) as one in which Bodhisattva might desire to be born.

The Mahāvastu (III. p. 101) refers to the Nyagrodhārāma of Kośala where the Buddha is said to have once taken up his residence. It was at the Jetavana grove of Śrāvastī that Devadatta sent assassins to kill the Lord who, however, received the murderers very hospitably (Avadānaśataka, N. B. L. p. 27). It was also at this grove that when Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, was retiring after adoring the Lord, 500 geese came to him and announced that King Pañcāla had been greatly pleased to notice the King of Kośala's devotion, and was coming to congratulate him on his conversion to the faith (Ibid. pp. 12-13). King Bimbisāra also interviewed the Lord at Jetavana (Ibid. p. 45). The same text refers to the fact that the Lord made no distinction as to proper and improper times in preaching the truths of religion. One day he preached while cleansing the Jetavana with a broom in hand (Ibid. p. 29). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (52nd, p. 20) refers to a king of Kośala named Hiraṇyavarmā who imposed a fine on a brahmin named Kapila.

Cedi — Reference to Cedi as one of the sixteen Janapadas of Jambudvīpa is made in the Lalitavistara (p. 22). The ancient Cedi country lay near the Jumna and was contiguous to that of the Kurus. It corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region.

Vatsa — Like the Cedi kingdom the Vatsa Janapada is also referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 27). The Vatsa dynasty is therein described as rich, thriving, kind and generous. The Mahāvastu (Vol. II. p. 2) refers to King Udayana of the Vatsa country and his capital Kauśāmbī.¹ The same

Kauśāmbī text refers to the fact that King Bimbisāra of Magadha and Udayana of Avantī requested the Lord, just when he had descended from the Tusita heaven, to honour Rājagṛha or Kauśāmbī by making it his birth place.² In a comparatively modern Sanskrit Mahayanist text (N. B. L. p. 269), the monastery of Ghosīrā, in the suburbs of Kauśāmbī is referred to. The site may probably be identical with the old Ghositārāma of Kosāmbī referred to so frequently in the Pāli Vinaya texts. Āśvaghōṣa in his Saundarānanda-Kāvya (Law's translation, p. 9) refers to a hermitage (ārāma) of one Kuśāmba where the city of Kauśāmbī was built.

The Śiśumāra hill identical probably with Śiśumāra Hill Sumsumārāgiri of the Pāli Jātakas which sheltered the Bhagga (Bhārga) state was included in the Vatsa territory. There on that hill lived a rich householder named Buddha. He gave his daughter Rūpiṇī to the son of Anāthapiṇḍada (N. B. L. Divyāvadānamālā, p. 309).

Matsya — The Matsya country, one of the 16 Janapadas enumerated in the Lalitavistara (p. 22), comprises the modern territory of Jaipur ; it included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. The capital of the Matsya country was Virāṭanagara or Vairāṭ (so called because it was the capital of Virāṭa, King of the Matsyas) which has perhaps a veiled reference in the name Bairatiputra Samjaya referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. pp. 59, 90).

Sūrasena — The capital of the Sūrasena Janapada was Mathurā, generally identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathurā or Muttra (U. P.).

¹ The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (35th, p. 3.) has a similar reference where it is stated that Kauśāmbī was ruled by the Vatsa King Udayana. Kauśāmbī is identical with modern Kosam near Allahabad.

² Mahāvastu (Senarts' Ed.), Vol. II, p. 2. '

Mathurā — In the *Lalitavistara* (p. 21) the city of Mathurā is described as rich, flourishing and populous, the metropolis of King Suvāhu of the race of the valiant Kamsa. Upagupta, the teacher of Aśoka, was the son of Gupta, a rich man of Mathurā (*Aśokāvadāna*, N. B. L., p. 10.) He was intended by his father to be a disciple of Soṇavāsi (*Bodhisattvāvdāna Kalpalatā*, 72nd, p. 2-3) who was a propagator of the Buddhist faith at Mathurā.

At Urumuṇḍa, a hill in Mathurā, Soṇavāsi converted Nāṭa and Bhāṭa, two nāgas and erected two vihāras of the same name in commemoration of their conversion (*Ibid*; also Cf. *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* 71st, p. 13 for a reference to the Urumuṇḍa Hill). The famous courtesan Vāsavadattā lived at Mathurā (*Div.* p. 352). There also lived in Mathurā two brothers, Nāṭa and Bhāṭa, both merchants (*Ibid.* p. 349). One Padmaka, beholding in his youth, a dead body felt disgusted with the world, and became eventually a hermit. When at Mathurā, he entered the house of a prostitute for alms; she was, however, charmed with the hermit's appearance and sought his love (N. B. L., *Aśokāvadāna*, p. 15). The *Divyāvadāna* seems to attest to the fact that there was a bridge of boats between Mathurā and Pāṭali-putra (p. 386). Upagupta is credited to have converted 18 lacs of the people of Mathurā (*Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 72nd, p. 71).

Another important city of the Sūrasena janapada was Kānyakubja. Kuśa, the son of Abūdā, the chief queen of Ikṣvāku, king of Benares, married Sudarsanā, the daughter of the king of Kānyakubja in Sūrasena (N. B. L., *Kuśa Jātaka*, p. 110). The same story is more elaborately given elsewhere. Mahendraka, the tribal king of Bhadrakasat in Kānyakubja had a beautiful daughter. Alindā, the chief queen¹ of the king of Benares (Subandhu was his name) immediately after the king's accession to the throne, set a negotiation on foot for her son's marriage to the daughter of king Mahendraka. The match was soon settled and the nuptials were celebrated at Kānyakubja (N. B. L., *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*, p. 143 ff). The *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kānyakubja forest Kalpalatā* refers to the Kānyakubja forest (80th,

¹ The name of the queen is given as Abūdā in the *Kuśa Jātaka* which is but a substance of this story.

p. 77) which must have been situated somewhere near the city of the same name.

The ancient Kuru country is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* as one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa
 Kuru and may be said to have comprised the Kuru-kṣetra or Thaneshwar. The district included Sonapat, Anun, Karnal, and Pānīpat, and was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and Dīśadvatī on the south. In the *Kalpadruma-avadāna* (N. B. L. , p. 297) it is stated that the Buddha once visited the city of the Kauravas which seems to have probably been the capital of the Kuru country, but unfortunately the name of the city is not given. It is, however, possible on the epic authority to identify the Kaurava city with Hastināpura which is several times

Hastināpura mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist text. The *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* definitely states that it was the capital of the Kuru kings (3rd Pallava 116 ; 64th, p. 9). It is stated that King Arjuna of Hastināpura was in the habit of killing those holy men who were unable to satisfy him by answers to the questions put by him (*Mahāvastu-avadāna*, III, p. 361). Sudhanu, son of Subāhu, another king of Hastināpura, fell in love with a Kinnari in a distant country, and came back with her to the capital where he had long been associated with his father in the government of the kingdom. (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, pp. 94-95) Utpala, son of Vidyādhara, a serpent catcher, dwelt at Hastināpura in the vicinity of Valkalāyana's hermitage (*Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 64th, p. 62.) The city is described in the *Divyāvadāna* as a rich, prosperous and populous city. Close by there was a big lake full of lotuses, swans and cranes (p. 435). This, it can be surmised, was the Dvaipāyana-hrada. The place was visited by the Buddha. Here an excellent brahmin approached him and praised him (*Ibid.* p. 72). The city was once ruled over by a pious and righteous king named Uttarapañcāla Mahādhana. In the *Divyāvadāna* Hastināpura is described as a rich, prosperous, and populous city (p. 435). The *Lalitavistara* refers to Hastināpura as having been ruled by a king descended from the Pāṇḍava race, valiant and the most beautiful and glorious among conquerors (Chap. III).

Mention is often made in the Sanskrit Buddhist sources as well as in Pāli texts of the Uttarakuru country (Uttarakurudvīpa), obviously a mythical region. The Lalitavistara refers to four Pratyanta-dvīpas or border-countries; they are Pūrvavideha, Aparagodāniya, Uttarakuru and Jambudvīpa (19 ; cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, 4th, p. 48, 50 & 71). The alphabet of the Uttarakuru country is also referred to as having been mastered by the Buddha (Ibid. p. 126). The Uttarakurudvīpa is stated to have been ten thousand yojanas in extent (Ibid. p. 149). In the Divyāvadāna it is mentioned as an island where people lived unattached to the worldly life (p. 215).

Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Chambal, but it was divided into north and south Pañcāla, separated by the Ganges. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.

That the Pañcāla country was divided into two divisions is attested to by the Divyāvadāna wherein we read of two Pañcāla Viṣayas : Uttara Pañcāla and Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla. The Jātakas as well as the Mahābhārata also refer to these two divisions of the country. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Hastināpura, but according to the Jātakas (Cowell's Jat. III. , p. 230) the capital was Kampillanagara. The Mahābhārata, however, states that the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla was Āhicchatra or Chatravatī (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) while Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla had its capital at Kampilya (Mbh. 138, 73-74) identical with modern Kampil in the Farukhabad district, U. P. ¹ and Padumāvati, the wife of a Pañcāla king is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. p. 169).

According to the Divyāvadāna, Hastināpura was the capital of the Pañcāla kingdom but according to the Epics and the Jātakas, Kampilya was the capital. In one of his former existences the Buddha was born as Rakṣita, son of Brahmadaṭṭa's priest. This Brahmadaṭṭa was the king of Kampilya in Pañcāla (Mahāvastu, I. , p. 283). In one of his former existences, the Bodhisattva was

¹ For reconciliation of these apparent discrepancies in the different evidences see my "Geography of Early Buddhism"-pp. 18-19.

Puṇyavanta, son of Añjanas, king of Bārāṇasī. Once he with his four friends set out on a journey to Kāmpilya in order to test the usefulness of their respective excellences (Mahāvastu, Vol. III. p. 33). When Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, was retiring from Jetavana after adoring the Buddha, 500 geese came to him, and announced that the king of Pañcāla had been greatly pleased to notice Prasenajit's devotion (N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, pp. 12-13). Kāmpilya in the kingdom of Pañcāla is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā to have been ruled by a pious king Satyarata (66th P. 4) and by King Brahmadata (68th P. 9).

The Śivī country is mentioned in the Lalitavistara (p. 22) as well as in the Mahāvastu (Law, 'A Study of the Mahāvastu', p. 9) as one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa. According to the Jātakas (Jāt. IV, p. 401) Ariṭṭhapura was the capital of the Śivī kingdom. Ariṭṭhapura (Pāli Ariṭṭhapura) is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (2nd, p. 2 and 3) to have been ruled by King Śrisena. The same text refers to the city of Śivavatī, doubtless identical with the capital of the Śivī country, to have been ruled by King Sivi (91st P. 6). In a passage of the Rgveda (VII. 18, 7) there is a mention of the Sivi people along with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānasas and Viśanins. Early Greek writers also refer to a country in the Punjab as the territory of the Siboi. It is highly probable that the Siva country of the Rgveda, the Sibi country of the Jātakas, and the Siboi country of the Greek geographers are one and the same. Patañjali mentions a country in the north called Śivapura (IV. 2, 2) which is certainly identical with Sibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription (Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 6). The Siva, Sibi or Siboi territory is, therefore, identical with the Shorkot region of the Punjab - the ancient Sivapura or Sibipura. Strictly speaking the Sivi country should, therefore, be included in the Uttarāpatha-

Daśārṇa. according to the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu, was one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa.

Daśārṇa The country has been mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II, 5-10) as well as in the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa (24-25). It is generally identified with the Vidisā or Bhilsā region in the Central Provinces.

The Aśmaka country is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. 363)

wherein it is stated that there was a hermitage on the Godāvari in the Āsmaka country where Sarabhaṅga, the son of the royal priest of Brahmadatta, king of Kampilya, retired after having received ordination. The country is doubtless identical with Pāli Assaka whose capital was Potala or Potana. Asaṅga in his Sūtrālamkāra mentions another Āsmaka country which, however, was situated on the Indus. Asaṅga's Āsmaka seems, therefore, to be identical with the kingdom of Assakenus of the Greek writers which lay to the east of the Sarasvatī at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea on the Swat valley. Āsmaka of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts, was situated on the Godāvari. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Āsmaka country lay outside the pale of Madhyadeśa.¹

In early Pāli literature, Assaka has been distinguished from Mūlaka which lay to its north, but has always been associated with Avantī which lay immediately to the north-east. The Gaṇḍavyūha refers to the city of Samantamukha in the Mūlaka country (N. B. L., p. 91).

Avantī² is referred to in the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara as one of the 16 janapadas of Jambudvīpa. The Bodhisattvavadāna refers again and again to King Udayana of Avantī (N. B. L. p. 74). There in the vicinity of Avantī lived Uttara and Nalaka, the two sons of one Jayī, the family priest of King of Tvarkaṭa, (N. B. L., Bhadrakalpavadāna, p. 44).

According to Pāli texts (Dīpavaṃsa, Oldenberg's Edn, p. 57) the capital of Avantī was Ujjeni or Ujjayini which, however, according to Sanskrit Buddhist texts, was included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Mahāvastu (Vol. II, p. 30) states that after the birth of the Bodhisattva, Asita, a brahmin of Ujjayini in Dakṣiṇāpatha, who had lived long on the Vindhya mountain, came from the Himālayas, his recent abode, to see the Bodhisattva.

Ujjayini is also referred to in the Bodhisattvavadāna Kalpalatā (76th, p. 10).

¹ For various references to the Assaka or Āsmaka tribe and their different settlements, see my Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 21-22.

² Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces.

Kapilavastu is famous in the history of Buddhist India as the home of the Śākya (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I. also Cf. Mahāvastu: Law's "A Study of the Mahāvastu", pp. 55 ff). It was also known as Kapilasya vastu (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I.). The Lalitavistara calls it Kapilavastu and sometimes Kapilapura (p.243) or Kapilāhvayapura (p.28). All these names occur also in the Mahāvastu (Vol. II. p. 11). As to the origin of the name Kapilavastu we have to turn to the Saundarānanda Kāvya where it is stated that as the city was built in the hermitage of the sage Kapila it was called Kapilavastu (Ch. I.). The Divyāvadāna also connects Kapilavastu with the sage Kapila (p. 548). In the Buddhacarita Kāvya (Bk. I. verse 2) Kapilavastu is described as the dwelling place of the great sage Kapila. It was surrounded by seven walls (Mahāvastu, II, 75) and is always referred to by the Lalitavistara as a Mahānagara or great city with a good number of gardens, avenues and market places (pp. 58, 77, 98, 101, 102, 113, 123). There were four city gates and towers all over the city (Ibid p. 58). An explanation of the origin of the Śākya is given in the Saundarānanda Kāvya (Ch. I) wherein it is stated that as the Śākya built their houses surrounded by Śāka trees, they were called Śākya. The Mahāvastu gives a story of the foundation of Kapilavastu and the settlement of the Śākya there (Vol. I. p. 350 ff). The Lalitavistara (pp. 136-137) gives 500 as the number of members of the Śākya Council.

Kapilavastu is stated to have been immensely rich, an abode of the powerful, a home of learning, and a resort of the virtuous. It was full of charities, festivals and congregations of powerful princes. It is described as having a good strength of horses, elephants and chariots (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I). With arched gateways and pinnacles, (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. I. v. 5) it was surrounded by the beauty of the lofty table-land (Ibid., V. 2). In this city none but intelligent and qualified men were engaged as ministers (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I). As there was no improper taxation, the city was full of people (Ibid), and poverty could not find any place there where prosperity shone resplendently (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. I., V. 4).

In the city of Kapilavastu the Buddha gave his religious discourse and his relations listened to it with great eagerness

(*Saundarānanda Kāvya*, Ch. II, v. 26). At a retired place, 96 miles from Kapilavastu, in the kingdom of the Mallas, in the vicinity of the āśrama of Vasiṣṭha, the Bodhisattva Gautama had parted with his servant Chandaka and his horse Kaṇṭhaka (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, pp. 164-165).

The Uposadhāvadānam (N. B. L. p. 265) refers to the
 Nyagrodha Nyagrodha garden near Kapilavastu. Viśvāmitra
 garden was a young preacher who resided at Kapilavastu
 (N. B. L. *Gaṇḍavyūha*, p. 92). Sobhita was a rich Śākya of
 Kapilavastu (*Avadāna-Śataka*, N. B. L. p. 37). Another rich
 Śākya of the city had his only daughter named Śuklā (*Ibid.* p. 35).

Gayā named after the royal sage of the same name is often
 mentioned as a city visited by the Lord. The
 Gayā river Nairāñjanā (Phalgu) which flows through
 the city was also visited by him (*Buddhacarita*, Bk. XII. vs. 87-88).
 The Buddha crossed the Ganges and went to the hermitage of
 Kāśyapa at Gayā (*Ibid.*, Bk. V. XVII, 8). He dwelt on the bank
 of the river Nairāñjanā at the foot of the Bodhi
 Nairāñjanā tree where Māra approached him and asked him
 river to leave the world (*Div.* p. 202).

In the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. II. p. 123) it is stated that the Buddha
 came to Uruvilva where he saw nicely looking
 Uruvilva trees, pleasing lakes, plain grounds, and the trans-
 parent water of the Nairāñjanā river. From Uruvilva the Lord
 wanted to go to Benares. He directed his steps accordingly towards
 that holy city. His route lay through Gayā, Nāhāl, Bundadvira
 Lohitavastuka, Gandhapura and Sārathipura (N. B. L., *Mahā-
 vastu-avadāna*, p. 157, cf. *Lalitavistara*, pp. 406-7). From Gayā
 the Buddha had, however, gone to Aparagayā
 Aparagayā where he was invited by Sudarśana, the king of
 snakes (*A Study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 156).

The Gayāśīrṣa mountain was situated at Gayā from where
 the Buddha went to Uruvilva and Senāpatigāma
 Gayāśīrṣa mountain for the attainment of Perfect Enlightenment (*A
 Study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 81; cf. *Lalitavistara* p. 248). The
Lalitavistara (p. 405) refers to the Bodhimanda
 Bodhimanda of Gayā not far from which the Bodhisattva met
 an ājīvika.

Cuṇḍādvila was a city once visited by the Buddha where he announced to the Ājīvaka named Upaka that without a master he had become the Buddha (A Study of the Mahāvastu, pp. 156-57). It is, however, difficult to identify the city.

A rich and prosperous city referred to in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (56th, p. 2) was obviously a mythical city.

The rich village of Nālandā is stated in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III. p. 56.) to have been situated at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagṛha. Nālandā is identified with modern Baragaon, seven miles to the north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna. (See my "Geography of Early Buddhism," p. 31 for more details).

These were the two cities mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā to have been visited by Buddha Vipassī and Gautama Buddha (27th, p. 54 and 39th, p. 2). They cannot, however, be identified.

According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Divyāvadāna the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa extended up to Puṇḍravardhana (pp. 21-22). Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller, also holds the same view; but according to the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka it extended up to Kaṇṇagala. Puṇḍravardhana was a stronghold of the Nigaṇṭhas. It once happened that a Professor of the Nigaṇṭha school who reviled the religion of the Buddha, had got a picture painted representing himself with the Buddha lying at his feet. This he had widely circulated in the province of Puṇḍravardhana. Aśoka heard of it and was so enraged that he desired to punish him. (N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 11). The same story is related also in the Divyāvadāna in a slightly different version (p. 427). The Divyāvadāna adds that here in Puṇḍravardhana 18,000 Ājīvikas were killed (p. 427). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (93rd, p. 3-4) states that Sumāgadā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada was married to a person at Puṇḍravardhana (a variant reading of Puṇḍravardhana). The details of the story are given in Sumāgadā Avadāna wherein it is stated that the name of the groom was Vṛṣabhadatta (N. B. L., p. 237; also cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 402).

In the Divyāvadāna, Dvīpavatī is mentioned as a city ruled by the king Dvīpa. It was rich, prosperous and populous. (p. 246). The city is stated to have been the birth place of Dipamkara Buddha (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 89th, p. 75). The city cannot, however, be identified.

It was a city ruled by a king named Kṣema. There lived in that city a merchant banker who was a staunch supporter of the Tathāgata named Kṣemamkara (Divyāvadāna, p. 242). The city, probably a mythical one, cannot be identified.

It was a beautiful city of Mahāsudarśana (Divyāvadāna, Kuśāvati p. 227).

The hermitage of Kapila was by the side of the Himālayas (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I, V. 5). This is also corroborated by the evidence of the Divyāvadāna (p. 548) wherein it is stated that the hermitage of the sage Kapila was situated not far from the river Bhāgīrathī by the side of the Himālayas.

It was a city inhabited by a prostitute famous for her charity (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 51st, p. 6). King Sobha built in this city a stūpa dedicated to the teacher Kakusandha (Ibid 78th, p. 28).

To the north of Kāśī by the side of the Himālayas there was a hermitage Sāhañjana where lived a sage named Kāśyapa (Mahāvastu, III, 143).

Once while the Buddha was engaged in deep meditation for six years at Senāpatigrāma in Uruvilva, a public woman named Gavā kept a coarse cloth on the branch of a tree for the Buddha's use after meditation. By virtue of this noble deed, she was reborn in heaven as a nymph (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 154).

There was a city named Uttara, which was 12 yojanas from east to west, and seven yojanas from south to north. Seven walls surrounded the city and there were seven large tanks. The city-gates and palaces were decorated with glass, gold, silver and other valuable gems and jewels.

The king of the city was a Kṣatriya and a Rājacakravartī (Mahāvastu, I. , p. 249).

The Madrakaviṣaya is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. p. 15).

The same text also refers to its king (p. 9).

Madraka Madraka country is doubtless identical with the Maddarattṭha of the Pāli texts.

Kuśīgrāmaka, obviously a village, is referred to in the. Divyāvadāna (p. 208). Its variant reading is Kuśīlagrāmaka or Kuśālagrāmaka which, however, is

difficult to be identified.

Brahmottara, a city, is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna (p. 602)

along with two other cities, Sadamattakam and Nandanam. These two cities cannot be identified, but Brahmottara is probably identical with Suhmottara of the Purāṇas which is only a misreading for Brahmottara.

Mīśrakavana is referred to along with Nandanavana and Pāriyātra in the Divyāvadāna

(pp. 194-195).

Vāsavagrāmaka is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (1, 4, and

10 ff). The village must be identified with some locality near Śrāvastī.

Srughna Srughna is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 74).

This is the place of the Buddha's descent from Heaven which is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 150 and 401).

Sāṅkāśya Sāṅkāśya is doubtless identical with Pāli Saṅkassa or Saṅkissa. The place is generally identified with Sankisa Basantapura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikṣumati now called Kālinadi between Atrāñji and Kanoj, and 23 miles west of Fategarh in the district of Etah and 45 miles north-west of Kanoj.

The Brahman district of Sthūṇa formed the western boundary

of the Madhyadeśa (Div. 21-22 ; Vinaya Texts.

S. B. E. XVII, pp 38-39). Sthūṇa or Pāli Thūṇa may be identified with Thaneshwar. (See my "Geography of Early Buddhism," p. 2 and foot note 2).

Rāmāgāma (Ramagrāma) was the capital of the Koliyas or

Kauliya tribe, a story of whose origin is detailed in the Mahāvastu-avadāna (Vol. I. 355). Aśoka

caused a caitya and other religious edifices to be erected at Rāmagāma. The Divyāvadāna refers to the eighth stūpa to have been erected at Rāmagāma ; apparently it was the last of the eight stūpas built over the relics of the Master (Div. p. 380).

References to the Lumbinī garden as the birth place of the Buddha are numerous, but they have no special geographical import. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbinī grove. The inscription on Niglīva pillar (now situated 38 miles north-west of Uskabazar Station on the B. N. W. Ry.) shows that it was erected near the stūpa of Konāgamana, but it is not now *in situ*.

At Bhaṇḍāligrāma the Lord converted a Caṇḍālī and at Pātala (probably Pātaliputra) he made Potala, a follower of his creed, to erect a splendid stūpa on his hair and nails. The Lord said to Indra that a king, Milinda by name, would also erect a stūpa at Pātala (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā 57 th P.).

Contemporaneous with the Buddha who was at that time lodged in the Veṇuvana on the side of the Kalan-dakaniṇvāpa at Rājagṛha, there lived in a retired village named Dakkhiṇagiri one Sampurna, a brahmin, as rich as Kuvera (N. B. L., Avadānaśataka, p. 17).

Dipavati or Dipāvati is described as a large royal city extending over an area of 84 square miles (Mahāvastu, Dipavati N. B. L., p. 118). Sarvānanda, king of this great city, once visited the great vihāra of Prasannaśīla, and thence brought the Buddha Dipamkara to his metropolis. (N. B. L. Piṇḍapātrāvadānam, p. 195). The city cannot, however, be identified.

Kṛṣṇagrāma or Kṛṣigrāma is suggested in the Lalitavistara to have been situated somewhere near Kapila-vastu (p. 135). The village may probably be identified with the place where the Bodhisattva gave up his crown and sword and cut off locks of his hair.

RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, ETC. OF MADHYADEŚA

There is a reference to the Pāṇḍava Hill in the Mahāvastu (II. 198) where the Bodhisattva Gotama once took up his dwelling. It is difficult to identify the hill.

Tattulya, Āvarta, Nīloda, Varambha, Aṣṭādaśavakra and Dhūmanetra mountains—The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā refers to a number of mountains mentioned here (6th Pallava, 69-88). But they do not lend themselves to any identification.

Caṇḍagiri The Mahāvastu refers to a mountain called Caṇḍagiri (III. 130) which it is not possible to identify.

The holy river Gaṅgā is often mentioned in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist sources. More than once the **Gaṅgā** Bodhisattva arrived on the Ganges; on one occasion the river was full to the brim (Lalitavistara p. 407; also cf. Mahāvastu, III, p. 201.)

Kailāśa Parvata According to the Lalitavistara the big palaces of King Suddhodana are said to have resembled the Kailāśa Parvata (p. 211).

The river Yamunā is more than once mentioned in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III. p. 201). Sarabhaṅga, a disciple of Kāśyapa, was present at a great sacrifice held at a place between the Ganges and the Yamunā (N. B. L., Mahāvastu, p. 160).

Pāriyātra or Pāripātra mountains formed according to both Brahmanical and Buddhist tradition the southern boundary line of the Madhyadeśa. It is a branch of the Vindhya and is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna along with Mandākinī, Caitraratha, Pāruṣyaka, Nandanavana, Misrakāvana and Pāṇḍukambalaśilā etc. (pp. 194-195).

The Gurupādaka hill is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 61) in connection with the story of Maitreya who is supposed to have repaired to the Gurupādaka hill, perhaps a legendary name.

Himavanta The Himālayas are mentioned everywhere in Sanskrit Buddhist literature.

They are again and again mentioned in connection with the penance and sambodhi of the Buddha. They **Bodhivaṭa and Bodhidruma** certainly refer to the famous Bo-tree of Bodhi Gayā at the foot of which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.

UTTARĀPATHA

COUNTRIES, CITIES, VILLAGES, RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, ETC.

According to both Pali tradition contained in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya texts*, S.B.E., XVI, pp. 38-39) and Sanskrit Buddhist tradition contained in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 21-22), the Uttarāpatha or northern country lay to the west and north-west of the two Brāhmaṇa districts of Sthūpa (Thūna) and Upasthūpa. Roughly, therefore, the northern country extended from Thaneswar to the eastern districts of modern Afghanistan comprising the tract of land including Kāśmīr, the Punjab and the North-western provinces, and part of Sind. It is significant that Sanskrit Buddhist texts do not enumerate Gandhāra and Kamboja, both in Uttarāpatha, in their traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas, but mention Śīvi and Dasārṇa instead. And as far as we have been able to ascertain these texts hardly ever refer to the two countries of Gandhāra and Kamboja though mention is made of Takṣaśīlā more than once in the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Aśokāvadāna* and elsewhere.

Takṣaśīlā (modern Taxila identical roughly with the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab) was the capital of Takṣaśīlā the Gandhāra kingdom. The Buddha was in one of his former births born as a king of Bārānaśī, and his empire extended to Takṣaśīlā where he had once marched to suppress a revolt (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, 82). In another of his former existences when the Buddha had been born as King Candraprabha, the city of Takṣaśīlā was known as Bhadrasiḷā; but later it came to be known as Takṣaśīlā because here the head of Candraprabha was severed by a beggar brahmin (*Divyāvadānamālā*, N.B.L., p. 310.)

During the reign of Aśoka a rebellion broke out in the distant province of Takṣaśīlā, and Kuṇāla, son of Aśoka, was sent to quell the disturbance. The subsequent tale, tragic and beautiful at the same time, is told in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā*,¹ the *Aśokāvadāna* (N. B. L. pp. 9-10) as well as in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 371 ff.). They give us the account of how Kuṇāla refused the love of his step-mother, how his two eyes were uprooted by

¹ According to the *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* (59th, p. 59) Taxila, however, belonged to King Kuṇḍarakarṇa when Kuṇāla was sent to conquer it.

way of revenge by that jealous lady, and how eventually he was driven out from Taxila where he was posted as Viceroy. Kuṇāla with his devoted wife Kāñcanamālā wandered from place to place and at last came to the coach-house of Aśoka where he sang a song on his lute which attracted the attention of the king. The king then recognised his son and came to know all that had happened. Tiṣyarakṣitā was punished to death, and Kuṇāla got back his eyes.

From the Divyāvadāna it appears that Takṣaśilā was included in the empire of Bindusāra of Magadha, father of Aśoka, as well.

The Divyāvadāna refers to the beautiful city of Kāśmīra which was inhabited by the learned (p. 399).

Kāśmīra Mādhyantika, a Bhikṣu, was sent to Kāśmīra as a missionary by his spiritual guide Ānanda.

Kāśmīra at that time was peopled solely by the Nāgas (N. B. L. Avadāna-Śataka, p. 67; also Cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 70th, p. 2-3) The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, (p. 105 p. 2) also refers to a Bhikṣu, Raivata by name, of Śailavihāra in Kāśmīra. The author of the "Sragdharā stotram" was a Buddhist monk of Kāśmīra.

In Uttarāpatha there was a city named Bhadrāśilā, rich, prosperous and populous. It was 12 yojanas in

Bhadrāśilā length and breadth, and was well-divided with four gates and adorned with high vaults and

windows. There was a royal garden in the city named Mañigarbha (Divyāvadāna, p. 315). According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, the city was situated to the north of the Himālayas and that it was ruled by king named Candraprabha (5th. p. 2 and 6). The city came, later on, to be known as Takṣaśilā because here the head of Candraprabha was severed by a beggar brahmin (Divyāvadānamālā, N. B. L. p. 310).

Mañjudeva, king of the mount Mañjuśrī in China (obviously a mythical one) seeing the Kālihrada full of

Gokarṇa monstrous aquatic animals, and the temple of Svayambhū almost inaccessible, opened with his

sword many of the valleys on the southern side of the lake. He opened the valleys of Kapotala, Gandhavatī, Mṛgāsthali, Gokarṇa, Varaya and Indravatī in succession.

After the departure of the Lord Krakuchanda from Nepal, Svayambhū produced eight vītarāgas or holy men who had mastered their passions. They lived there, granted happiness and prosperity to all creatures. One of those eight vītarāgas or holy men was Gokarṇeśvara, in Gokarṇa or the Vāgmatī where it falls from the mountain. (Svayambhū purāṇa, N. B. L., p. 253).

It is modern Sutlej, a tributary of the Ganges. Kinnarī Manoharā, wife of Prince Sudhanu, son of Suvāhu, Śatadru river king of Hastināpura, while going to the Himālayas, crossed the river Śatadru and proceeded to the mount Kailāśa (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 118).

Vajrāvati Vajrāvati in Uttarāpatha was ruled by king Vajracanda (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 103rd, p. 4).

Puṣkarāvati or Puṣkalāvati Puṣkarāvati is referred to in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (32nd p. 40). The city is probably identical with Peukalautes of the Greek geographers which is the same as modern Peshawar.

The country of the Kirātas, Daradas, Cīnas and Huṇas are referred to in the Lalitavistara (pp. 125-26).

Sākala The city of Sākala is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 434). It is doubtless identical with Sāgala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab), the city of the famous king Milinda.

The river Sindhu or Indus is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 581). It is stated therein that Mahākātyāyana while proceeding towards the Madhyadeśa arrived on the Sindhu. (Athāyusmān Mahākātyāyano Madhyadeśam āgantukāmaḥ Sindhum anuprāptaḥ).

APARĀNTA OR WESTERN COUNTRY

COUNTRIES, CITIES, VILLAGES, ETC.

The Divyāvadāna (pp. 544 ff) refers to two great cities of the

Roruka time of the Buddha, e. g., Pāṭaliputra and Roruka. The latter may be identical with Alor, an old city of Sindh. Roruka

Sauvīra in Sauvīra, was ruled by King Rudrāyaṇa who was killed by his son Śikhaṇḍi. As a punishment of this crime, the realm of Śikhaṇḍi was destroyed by a heavy shower of sand. Three pious men only survived, two ministers and a Buddhist monk. Bhiru, one of the two ministers, established a new city

there which was named Bhiruka or Bhirukaccha after him.

Bhṛgukaccha Thence probably came the name Bhṛgukaccha or Bharukaccha identical with Barygaza of Ptolemy (pp. 38, 152) and the Periplus of the Erythrean sea (pp. 40, 287) and modern Broach in Kathiawar. It was a rich and prosperous city thickly populated (Div. 545). The Gaṇḍavyūha (N. B. L. p. 92) refers to a goldsmith, Muktasāra by name, of Bharukaccha. The Lord Supāraka in his old age once undertook a voyage with a number of other merchants to trade with the inhabitants of a coast named Bharukaccha (Bodhisattvāvadāna, N. B. L., p. 51).

A brisk trade existed between Rājagrha and Roruka. It is said that merchants from Rājagrha went to Roruka for trade (Divyāvadāna, pp. 544 ff). King Rudrāyaṇa of Roruka was a contemporary of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, and they became intimate friends. The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā refers to Rauruka ruled by a famous king named Ūdrāyaṇa (40th, p. 4).

When the Buddha was dwelling at Śrāvastī, there lived contemporaneously at the city of Sūrpāraka a householder named Bhava (Divyāvadāna, pp. 24 ff). Sūrpāraka seems to have been an important centre of trade and commerce when merchants used to flock with merchandise (Ibid, pp. 42 ff). It is identical with modern Sopārā in Gujrat.

DAKṢIṆĀPATHA

COUNTRIES, CITIES, VILLAGES, MOUNTAINS, etc.

The Dakṣiṇāpatha or Southern country lay to the south of the river Sarāvastī, the town of Satakaṇṇika and the Pāriyātra hill (Mahāvagga and Divyāvadāna). The Janapadas of Āsmaka and Avantī were strictly speaking, included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Dakṣiṇāpatha is often referred to in the Mahāvastu, the Aśokāvadāna and the Gaṇḍavyūha. After the birth of the Bodhisattva Asita, a brahmin of Ujjayinī in Dakṣiṇāpaṭha came from the Himālayas to see the Bodhisattva (Mahāvastu, Vol. II. 30). While roaming in Dakṣiṇāpatha a self-exiled king of Kośala saw a shipwrecked merchant who was on his way to Kośala (Mahāvastu III, 850). On the day of Girivalgu-saṅgama, a festival was held at Śrāvastī, people assembled from all quarters of the city. Among

others there came Kubalayā, a dancing girl from Dakṣiṇāpatha (N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 35).

There in the village of Dharmagrāma in Dakṣiṇāpatha lived a brahmin named Śivirātra (Ibid, p. 92). The Dharmagrāma Gaṇḍavyūha (N. B. L. Ms. No. A 9) mentions a long list of place names which were all included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Important of them were : - Mount Sugrīva in the country called Rāmavarta, Supratīṣṭhita of Sāgara on the way to Lankā, Vajapura, a city of Draviḍa, Samudravelāti to the east of Mahāprabhu; Sumukha in the country of Śramaṇamaṇḍala; city of Samantamukha in Mūlaka; Sarvagrāma of Tosala in Mitatosala; Utpalabhūti in Pṛthurāstra; Kalingavana; Potalaka Paśatmaṇḍala and Dvārāvati. Of these Mūlaka, Tosala, Kalingavana and Potalaka (Potala or Potana) are well known in Buddhist literature; others do not lend themselves to any definite identification. Śramaṇamaṇḍala may refer to modern Sravaṇa Belgola in Mysore, once a stronghold of Jainism, and Supratīṣṭhita, to Paithan on the Godāvari.

Kaliṅga is referred to more than once in the Mahāvastu as an important kingdom. Renu, son of Disāmpati, Kaliṅga king of Kaliṅga, was once compelled, by the instigation of Mahāgovinda, the son of his family priest, to cede the six provinces of his father's empire, namely, Kalinga, Pattāna, Māheśavati, Vārāṇasī, Roruka and Mithilā to the refractory nobles (Mahāvastu, III, 204 ff.). Brahmadatta, a wicked king once reigned in Kaliṅga. He used to have Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas invited to his palace and devoured by wild animals (Mahāvastu, III. 361). Dantapura which is also referred to by Yuan Chwang was probably one of the capital cities of Kaliṅga¹ where ruled king Nālikela (Mahāvastu, III. p. 361). The alphabet of the Kaliṅga country is referred to in the • Lalitavistara as having been mastered by the Khaṇḍadīpa Bodhisattva (pp. 125-26). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā mentions a country named Khaṇḍadīpa burnt by the king of Kaliṅga (8th, p. 27).

1. See my Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 64.

The Vindhyaparvata is said to have been situated south of Avanti, and on it was Dṛti's hermitage (N.B.L. , Vindhya Parvata Bhadrakalpa-avadāna, p.44). The same text refers to the Vindhya forest on the outskirts of the mountain ranges (p. 46). The Vindhya mountain is referred to as having been adorned with flowers (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 1st p. 31).

The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (24th, p. 19)
 Kiṣkindhyā mountain refers to the Kiṣkindhyā mountain which according to the epic tradition was included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Aśoka's tree was brought from Gandhamādana by Ratnaka, keeper of the hermitage, and was planted at the Gandhamādana back of canopy where the Blessed One showed miracles (Divyāvadāna, p. 157). In this mountain there lived a brahmin named Raudrākṣa who was well acquainted with miracles (Ibid, p. 320). According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, this brahmin lived at the foot of the Gandhamādana mountain which was visited by the Buddha (5th, p.31, 25). The Gandhamādana hill is also referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 391).

In Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarānanda Kāvya there is a reference to the Mainākaparvata entering the river to check the course of the ocean (ch. VII. v. 40). The same story is also alluded to in the Rāmāyaṇa which locates the Mainākaparvata in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Malayācala is referred to as a mountain where Jīmūtavāhana took shelter after giving up his sovereignty Malayācala (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 108th, p. 12). Epic tradition locates the Malaya mountain in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The Citrakūṭa hill is referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 391).

The island of Laṅkā is referred to in the Gaṇḍavyūha (N.B.L. p. 91), The " Laṅkāvatāra " is an account of a visit paid by Śākya to the king of Laṅkā and of his preachings in that island. The Laṅkāvatāra text refers to the Malaya mountain of Laṅkā (N.B.L. p. 113.).

Daṇḍakavana is referred to in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 316) where it is stated that for thousands of years in the once **Daṇḍakavana** burnt forest of **Daṇḍakavana**, even grass did not grow. Epic tradition locates the **Daṇḍaka** forest in the **Dakṣināpatha**.

PRĀCYA OR EASTERN COUNTRY

The **Prācyā** country lay to the east of **Puṇḍravardhana**.

The alphabet of the **Vaṅga** country is referred to in the *Lalitavistara* as having been mastered by the **Bodhisattva** (pp. 125-26).

In the walled city of **Gauḍa** which had only one gate, **Viravatī**, was the presiding deity (N. B. L., *Svayambhū Gauḍa Purāṇa* p. 256). **Pracandadeva**, king of **Gauḍa**, having abdicated his throne in favour of his son **Śaktideva** devoted himself to the service of the goddess **Viravatī**.

*PANCATANTRA STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

5. KING KACADRUMA

The story of *King Kacadruma* (*Kakuddruma*) is found in all the versions that are derived from Vasubhāga's recension¹ of the Pañcatantra, that is to say, in Du (1.1), Tantri (2a), Tantrai (36), and Tantai (1.2)². Among the (earlier) versions belonging to Viṣṇuśarman's recension of that book, it is found in T (1.8), Spl (1.10), and Pn (1.11) only:³ it is not found in Sp or Pa.

In Spl, the story is introduced by the verse —

ityaktās cābhyantarā yena bāhyās cābhyantari-kṛtāḥ |

*sa eva mṛtyum āpno'i yathā rājā Kakuddrumaḥ ||*⁴

and is, briefly, as follows:—

“There once lived in a jungle a jackal named Caṇḍarava. Overcome by hunger, he once entered a town and was there obliged to take shelter in a vat of indigo solution. When at last he managed to

* No. 1 of these *Studies* has been published in *Asia Major*, III, pp. 307-320, and nos. 2, 3, 4 in JBBRAS. Vol. 4, pp. 1-26 and Vol. 5, pp. 1-10. For explanation of the abbreviations used, see pp. 1 and 21 in JBBRAS. Vol. 4.

¹ Regarding the recensions of Vasubhāga and Viṣṇuśarman, see my article entitled “On the Reconstruction of the Pañcatantra” in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (ZII), 8, 228 ff.

² The names *Tantri*, *Tantrai* and *Tantai* are used by me here to denote the Pañca. versions (or adaptations) current in Java, Siam and Laos respectively, and written in Middle Javanese, Siamese and Laotian. A detailed account of the *Tantri* is given by Dr. C. Hooykaas in his dissertation entitled “*Tantri, De Middeljawaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking*” that was published in 1929; and a full translation (into the Dutch language) of it was published by the same scholar in 1931. Of the Siamese work, a French translation was published in 1924 by the late Prof. E. Lorgeou under the title “*Les Entretiens de Nang Tantrai*”. Of the Laotian *Pañca.*, a brief account, with synopses of its stories, was published by Prof. Finot in 1917 in Vol. 17 of the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*.

The references here are to the above-named works of Hooykaas, Lorgeou and Finot.

³ The story is also found in *Ks* but not in *So*.

⁴ “He by whom intimate ones (i. e., persons of proved worth and loyalty) have been cast out and outsiders (i. e., unproved persons) admitted into the inmost circle, he alone, like King Kakuddruma, meets with death.”

steal back to the jungle, he found that his body was coloured a fast blue. Because of this blue colour, the lion, tiger, wolf and other denizens of the jungle did not recognize him as a jackal. They thought that he was a strange animal, and, being afraid, wanted to run away. Seeing this, the jackal called out to them and said: "O ye animals, why are ye afraid of me and want to run away? I have been created by Brahmā to rule over the animals of the jungle who, up to now, have no ruler. Remain therefore, and live happily under my rule. I am known as King Kakuddrūma in all the three worlds". Hearing this, all the animals made obeisance to the jackal who bestowed offices on the lion, tiger and others, but wholly ignored his own kindred and kept them at a distance.

"Once, the jackal heard his kinsmen howling, and began immediately to howl with them. Seeing this, the lion and other animals perceived that he was a jackal, and saying, 'Ha, we have been deceived by this mean jackal', killed him on the spot just as he was attempting to escape."

The stories in T and Pn are similar to the above; but there is nothing said in these versions about the jackal calling himself Kakuddrūma. The introductory verses too in these versions read pāda d as *mūrkhāś Caṇḍaravo yathā* and say nothing about Kakuddrūma.¹

In all these versions, this story follows that of *The Louse and Bug*, and is related by the jackal Damanaka to the lion Piṅgalaka in order to enforce his warning that no good, but harm, would result by Piṅgalaka's keeping the bull Saṃjivaka in a confidential position and neglecting hereditary servants like himself.

The story however is not apposite in this connection. For, since the jackal became king only after he fell into the indigo-vat, there could be no question of his having had 'intimate (proved) servants' before that happening, or of his dismissing such servants.² And it is thus plain that the details related in the Spl-T-Pn

¹ T, in addition reads pāda c as *sa bhūmau nihataḥ śete*.

² It also seems to me very doubtful that the author of the *kathāsaṃgraha* verse has used the word *rājā* in pāda d (*yathā rājā Kukuddrūmaḥ*) in the unusual sense of 'king of animals.'

version of the story are not in conformity with¹ the introductory verse, and that this version of the story does not fit into the context.

The story related in Du-Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai differs very widely from the above. In Du, the story is the first one in Book (*tantra*) I, and is related by the jackal Karataka to Davanaka to enforce his observation that, since the lion Piṅgala had estranged from himself trusty servants like themselves and put outsiders in positions of trust, he had nobody but himself to blame if he found himself in danger. It is introduced by the verse *abhyantaragatā bāhyā bāhyās cābhyantaram gataḥ | yair narā nidhanam yānti yathā rājū Kacadrumah ||*¹ and is, briefly, as follows:—

“ King Mahādruma had a son named Kacadruma who did not in his boyhood cultivate the society of his elders but associated with evil-living men and was a slave to the seven kinds of *vyasana*. He became king after his father's death and through his evil ways became estranged from, and lost the services of, the chaplain, chamberlain, chancellor of the exchequer, commander of the armies, ministers and other loyal and trusted officers and feudatories. He then bestowed these offices on the rascally crew that formerly had been his playmates. The administration became every day worse and the people suffered sorely. Seeing this state of affairs, Kacadruma's cousin Simhabala attacked the kingdom. The old servants, friends, soldiers, and frontiersmen that had been disgraced by Kacadruma stood aloof; and many of the newly appointed servants ran away and some of them joined the enemy. The foolish Kacadruma being thus abandoned by all, was easily captured by the enemy.”

The stories in Tantri, Tantrai and Tantai are very similar to the above; but as these versions have joined on the story of *The Two Parrots* (= Du. 1. 14; Pn. 1, 29) to this, they all relate that King Kacadruma escaped from the enemy, and Tantai, Tantrai add further that he recovered his kingdom again from the enemy after defeating him with the help of the gold and the well-brought up parrot presented to him by the hermit. The name of the king

¹ “ Like King Kacadruma, the men by whom those in the inner circle are cast out, and outsiders taken into the inner circle, are overtaken by destruction ”.

is given as Gajadruma, Kesadruma and Gardhuma respectively in these versions, and Tantri contains, besides, the introductory verse (of Du ?) in a corrupt form.

The four versions however all agree in saying (1) that Kacadruma was a king, (2) that he dismissed from office trusted servants of proved loyalty, and appointed incompetent outsiders (unproved persons) in their place, and (3) that he was abandoned by them when, following their maladministration and consequent disaffection of the people, the kingdom was attacked by enemies. These details, it will be noticed, are quite in conformity with the *kathāsaṅgraha* verse given above; and it follows hence that the Du version of the prose story is original,¹ and that of T-Spl-Pn unoriginal. The redactor of Ur-T² (from which T, Ur-Spl, Spl and Pn are derived), while retaining the *kathāsaṅgraha* verse, seems to have substituted the story of *The Blue Jackal* (with the addition that the jackal changed his name into Kacadruma) in place of the original prose story ; and since this story was in disaccord with the *kathāsaṅgraha* verse, the redactors of T and Pn seem to have altered its fourth pāda so as to eliminate all reference to King Kacadruma. Even with this alteration, however, the discord between the two still persists, as we have seen above ; nothing has been (or can be) said in the story about loyal servants being dismissed, and the story itself continues to be repugnant to the context.

There seems to be a slight corruption in Du's version of the story. As we have seen, this version says only that King Kacadruma fell into the hands of his enemies, but does not say that he was killed by them. This, however, is what is said about him in the *kathāsaṅgraha* verse ; and it is hence probable that the original prose story contained a sentence or two that said that he was killed by the enemies, and that these sentences have been lost in Ur-Du.

¹ As I have pointed out in ZII. 8. 237, the story of King Kacadruma seems to be one of the stories that were contained in the original Pañcatantra.

² Regarding Ur-T, see ZII. 7. 31 and Edgerton's *Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, 2, 48.

The introductory verse too of Du seems likewise to be corrupt in pādas ab. As these pādas now stand, we have to construe the words in the following order: *yaiḥ abhyantaragatāḥ bāhyāḥ bāhyās ca abhyantaram gatāḥ te narāḥ yathā rājā Kacadrumo nidhanam yayau tathā nidhanam yūnti*; and the words *yaiḥ ... gatāḥ* do not make sense. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Spl reading *tyaktās cābhyantarā yena bāhyās cābhyantari-krātūḥ* is original and that this reading was later corrupted and assumed the form it now has in Du.

There are two other stories in the Pañcain whose case too the version contained in Du-Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai differs widely from that contained in T-SP-Pa-Spl-Pn. One is the story of *The Ape and Officious Bird* (T. 1. 14; SP. 1. 13; Sy. 1. 12; Ar. 1. 12; Spl. 1. 17 and 4. 12; Pn. 1. 25 and 4. 19; Du. 3. 5-6; Tantri 12, Tantrai 47, Tantai 1. 11): the T-SP-Pa version of this story mentions a glowworm and relates that the irate ape destroyed the officious bird, while the Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai version mentions no glow-worm and relates that the ape destroyed, not the bird itself, but its nest.¹

The other is the story of *The Avaricious Jackal* (2.3 in T, SP, Spl, Sy, Ar; 2. 4 in Pn; Du. 5. 5; Tantrai 35; Tantai 2. 4). The T-SP-Spl-Pn-Pa version of this story is as follows:—

“A hunter who had killed a deer and was carrying home its body, came across and killed a wild boar, and was also killed by it. A hungry jackal that happened to pass by the place and saw the three carcasses, said to himself, ‘Aha, what luck! These carcasses will serve me as food for many days; and for the present I shall eat the sinew-cord with which the bow is strung and appease my hunger’. Accordingly he gnawed through the bow-string when one end of the bow rebounded, hit the jackal and killed him.”

The introductory verse of this story reads in T as *kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityam na tu kāryo ‘ti-saṁcayaḥ | ati-saṁcaya-śīlo ‘yam dhanuṣā jambuko hataḥ* and in SP as *kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityam na tu kāryo ‘ti-saṁcayaḥ | paśya saṁcaya-lubdhena dhanuṣūtmā vināśitaḥ*. The SP contains in addition the following *ākhyāna* verse

¹ Both versions of the story are contained in Du, Spl and Pn.

also : *vyāḍha eka-dinaṃ yāti dvi-dinaṃ mṛga-sūkarau | bahu-saṃcayam etan me sāmpratam cāpa-bhakṣaṇam.*

According to the Du-Tantrai-Tantai version of the story¹ the three carcasses found by the hungry jackal were those of an elephant (who was killed by a hunter), hunter (who just after he had shot at the elephant, was bitten by a snake and died immediately thereafter), and snake (which was crushed and killed accidentally, by the hunter falling upon it).

The Tantai has the following *kathāsaṃgraha* verse : *atilobham na kattabham (kuru ?) lobham pamānato | atilobhassa dosena jambūko dhanunā hato* which is in Pali and therefore undoubtedly unoriginal, and Du,² the following *ākhyāna* verse : *ṣaṇ-māsaṃ tu bhaven nāgaś cātur-māsaṃ tu pannagaḥ | dvi-māsaṃ tu naraś caiva adya bhakṣyo dhanur-guṇaḥ.*

In the case of these two stories however, there are no means of determining which of the two versions, that contained in T-SP-Pa-Spl-Pn or that in Du-Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai, is original and which later. To judge from the phraseology, the above-cited *ākhyāna* verse of the SP is without doubt unoriginal. The *ākhyāna* verse of Du, on the other hand, may perhaps be original, in which case it would follow that the Du version of the story is original, and the other version, not.

Both the above stories are contained in the *Hitopadeśa*, which in its introduction (*prastāvikā*), mentions Viṣṇuśarma as the author of the Pañca. and professes to be based on that book of his, i. e., on his recension of the Pañcatantra. It is therefore of interest to note that its version of the story of *The Ape and Officious Bird* (3. 1), like that of Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai, makes no mention of the glow-worm, and relates that the apes destroyed the birds' nests.

On the other hand, its version of the story of *The Avaricious Jackal* (1. 6) is a mixed version. The beginning of the story relates, like the T-SP-Pa-Spl-Pn version, the death of the deer, wild boar and hunter. Then it abruptly introduces the snake by

¹ The story does not occur in the Tantri.

² Du does not contain any *kathā - saṃgraha* or introductory verse in connection with this story.

saying that ' the snake too was trampled to death by the two (i. e., the hunter and boar) ', mentions that the hungry jackal saw four carcasses, those of the deer, hunter, boar and snake, and has also the following *ākhyāna* verse: *māsam ekaṃ nara yāti dvau māsau mṛga-sūkarau | ahir eka-dinaṃ yāti adya bhahṣyo dhanur-guṇaḥ* which mentions the snake in pāda c. It is therefore evident that the story is made up of elements borrowed from both the T-SP-Pa-Spl-Pn version and the Du-Tantrai-Tantai version, that is, from the Pañcatantra versions of both Viṣṇuśarma's and Vasubhāga's recensions.

6. THE ORIGINAL FORMS OF SOME

PAÑCATANTRA VERSES

Prof. Hertel has had occasion, in the course of the many books and articles that he has published about the Pañcatantra, to discuss in a full manner the readings contained in the several recensions of some typical verses in order to illustrate his statements and support his conclusions. He has, on such occasions, reproduced fully the readings contained in the Mss., pointed out their merits and defects, and determined therefrom what the original forms of the verses in question must have been, and how the corrupt readings must have arisen. In respect of many such verses, I agree with Hertel in the conclusions that he has arrived at regarding their original forms; but in respect of many others, it has seemed to me, after reading his writings, that the facts set forth by him do not always justify the conclusions that he has drawn. Similarly, the readings of some verses that are printed in the text of Prof. Franklin Edgerton's *Pañcatantra Reconstructed* too, are, it seems to me, not original. And I therefore propose in this article to discuss the readings of some of these verses,¹ and to determine what their original forms were.

Besides the material used by Hertel, namely, the different readings contained in the Mss. examined by him and reported by him in his editions of the several recensions, I have in addition made use here of the material contained in Durgasimha's Pañcatantra. Of this Pañca. version and its contents, I have given a detailed account in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*:

¹ See in this connection, regarding the original form of T 2. 45 [= PR. 2. 27], *Asia Major*, III, 315; of T 1. 167 [= PR. 1. 158], *JBBRAS.* 4 (1928), 7; of T 3. 69 [= PR. 3. 57], *JBBRAS.* 5 (1929), 9; and of T 1. 186, p. 43 above.

in 6, 299 f. of that journal, I have reproduced in full all the Sanskrit verses that are cited by Durgasimha from the Sanskrit original of his version ; and in 7, 13 f. and 8, 229 f. , I have shown that his version of the Pañca. is, like the majority of the Pañca. versions written in Siamese, Laotian, Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, etc. and current in Further and Insul- India, derived from Vasubhāga's recension of that book.

The readings of Du therefore are of particular interest since it is derived from a source which is quite different from Viṣṇuśarma's recension of the Pañca. from which the Sanskrit versions T, SP, Spl, Pn,¹ etc. , are all derived ; and on those occasions when these Sanskrit versions read a stanza in different ways, the agreement of Du in a reading contained in one of them shows conclusively that that reading is original. Unfortunately, the great majority of the Sanskrit verses in Du are peculiar to this version, and there are only about a hundred verses in it that are found in T and other Sanskrit versions.

1. I begin with T 1. 5 (= PR. 1. 6 ; Du 6) which reads as follows :

*avyūpāreṣu vyūpāraṁ yo naraḥ kartum icchati ।
sa naro nihataḥ śete kilotpāṭiva markataḥ ॥*

Pādas ab are found without change in SP, N, Spl, Pn, Hit, and Du. In c, SP, Spl, Pn and Du have *eva* instead of *naraḥ* ; instead of *niyataḥ*, these four read *nidhanam* and T B *pralayam*, and instead of *śete* all these five have *yāti*. In d, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit, and Du have *vānaraḥ* instead of *markataḥ*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of this verse is :

*avyūpāreṣu vyūpāraṁ yo naraḥ kartum icchati ।
sa eva nidhanaṁ yāti kilotpāṭiva vānaraḥ ॥*

as read by Du, SP, Spl and Pn. Edgerton however gives in his PR *sa eva nihataḥ śete* as the original form of pāda c.

2. T 1. 21 (= PR. 1. 23) reads as follows :

*apāya-saṁdarśana-jām vipattim
upāya-saṁdarśana-jām ca siddhim ।
medhāvino nīti-vidāḥ prayuktān
puraḥ sphurantīm iva darśayanti ॥*

¹ The readings that are reproduced here of these versions are, for the most part, extracted from Edgerton's PR.

The variant readings are found in c only where, instead of °*vidaḥ*, the SP Mss. have °*pada*, °*patha*, °*vidhi*; Hit. °*vidhi*, Spl and Pn, °*guṇa*; instead of *prayuktām*, SP has *prayuktāḥ*.

Hertel has opined (SP, p. LXVIII) that the SP reading °*prayuktāḥ* is a corruption and that T's reading of the verse is correct and original. He translates the verse as, "Die Weisen zeigen, dass der Misserfolg, welcher eintritt, wenn sich ein Nachteil zeigt, und der Erfolg, welcher eintritt, wenn sich ein Vorteil zeigt, mit dem der "Führung-" Kundigen verbunden sind [= von ihm abhängen] und vor diesem gleichsam aufleuchten [= er sieht sie voraus und richtet sich danach]". Edgerton, on the other hand, thinks (PR. 1. 23) that the original (and correct) reading of pāda c is *medhāvino nīti-vidhi-prayuktām* and translates the verse as, " The disaster that follows from the application of bad plans, and the success that follows from the application of good plans, are connected with the principles of polity, and shine forth in advance, so to speak, so that the intelligent can point them out." Both these scholars thus agree in interpreting *prayuktām* as ' is connected with ; is bound up with ', which is an impossible meaning for that word.

The fact is, that granting that the reading of the first two pādas is correct (and of this there can be no doubt since the same reading is found in all the versions), the word *prayuktām* (in the accusative case) is wholly out of place in the verse. The correct reading in c therefore is not *nītividaḥ* or *nīti-vidhi-prayuktām*, but *nīti-vidhi-prayuktāḥ* as read by the Mss. KT of the SP and indicated by the Mss. FHODG of the SP and by Hit. (see SP, p. LXVIII). This word means ' those that are appointed to look after the conduct of affairs of *nīti* ' and denotes the ministers of the king ; and the meaning of the verse is : " Wise ministers that are put in charge of the conduct of affairs of *nīti*, cause to appear, as it were, vividly, before one's eyes, the danger which is caused by an improper course (*apāya*), and the success which results from the proper course (*upāya*)".

The original and correct reading of the verse is therefore :

apāya-saṁdarśana-jām vipattim
upāya-saṁdarśana-jām ca siddhim ।
medhāvino nīti-vidhi-prayuktāḥ
puraḥ sphurantīm iva darśayanti ॥

3. T 1. 37 (= PR. 1. 37) reads as-

buddhimān anurakto 'yam ihobhayam ayam jaḍaḥ |
iti bhr̥tya-vicārajño bhr̥tyair āpūryate nr̥paḥ ||

The variants are found in pāda b only ; instead of *ihobhayam*, N has *ihottamam*, Pn *abhakto 'yam*, SP *abhayo 'yam*, and one Ms. of T, *ito bhayam*. Instead of *janah*, SP has *jaḍaḥ*, and Hit. reads the pāda as *ayam śūra ito bhayam*.

Hertel (SP, p. LI) seems to think that the reading of T is correct and original ; so also does Edgerton, who, like Hertel, translates pādas ab as " This one is wise, this one faithful, this one both, that one foolish ". This is incorrect ; for, there is only one *ayam* in a, and it means, " This one is clever, devoted ". The word *ubhayam* too in the above reading refers to two qualities (*buddhi* and *anurakti*) which are not mentioned in pāda a ; and there is thus no doubt that the above reading is incorrect and corrupt. The correct reading is *ito bhayam* as is contained in one Ms. of T (compare also the reading of Hit. given above) ; and the reading *ihobhayam* is plainly a corrupt form of this reading. The meaning of pādas ab, with this reading, is, " This one is clever, devoted ; from this one, there is danger (to be apprehended) ; this one is stupid " ; compare T 1. 48 : *kiṃ bhaktenāsamarthāna kiṃ śaktenāpakārīṇā | bhaktaṃ śaktaṃ ca māṃ rājan yathāvaj jñātum arhasi*. The original and correct reading of the verse is therefore,

buddhimān anurakto 'yam ito bhayam ayam jaḍaḥ |
iti bhr̥tya-vicārajño bhr̥tyair āpūryate nr̥paḥ ||

4. T 1. 30 (= PR. 1. 30 ; Du 12) reads as-

dantasya vā niṣkuṣaṇena rājan
karṇasya kaṇḍūyanakena vā 'pi |
tr̥ṇena kāryaṃ bhavaśiśvarāṇām
kim aṅga vāg-ghastavatā janena ||

The variants are found in a, d only. In a, instead of *vā niṣkuṣaṇena*, the SP Mss. have *saṅgharṣaṇakena* or *nirgharṣaṇakena*, Hit, Du and N *nirgharṣaṇakena*, Spl and Pn *niṣkoṣaṇakena* ; instead of *rājan*, Spl has *nīyam*. In d, some SP Mss. have *aṅghri* and Pn *nāma* instead of *aṅga* ; instead of *vāg-ghastavatā*, SP, N, Hit. and Du have *vāk-pāṇimatā*, and Pn *vākyaṅgavatā* ; and instead of *janera*, SP, N, Hit, Du, Spl and Pn all have *nareṇa*.

Regarding the words *niṣkuṣaṇa*, *niṣkoṣaṇaka*, *nirgharṣaṇaka* and *saṁgharṣaṇaka*, the first two are derived from the root *kuṣ* with *nis*, signifying 'to extract, tear, draw out; to husk, to shell; to injure or hurt by tearing', and have therefore nothing to do with the idea of tooth-pick. The latter two words are derived from the root *ghṛṣ* with the prefixes *nir* and *saṁ* respectively; but while the word *nirgharaṣaṇaka* is used in the sense of 'tooth-cleaner, dentifrice' (see Apte), the words *saṁgharṣaṇaka* is not so used. In fact, no instance is met with of the use of this word anywhere in any sense whatever. It is clear therefore that *nirgharṣaṇaka* is the proper word to use in pāda a, and that it is the original reading. This is shown, besides, by the agreement of Du with SP, N and Hit.

Similarly, the agreement of Du with SP, N and Hit. shows that the original reading of pāda d is, *kim aṅga vak-pāṇimatā nareṇa*. The original form of the verse is thus —

*dantasya nirgharṣaṇakena rājan
karṇasya kaṇḍūyanakena vā' pi
trṇena kāryaṁ bhavatiśvarṇāṁ
kim aṅga vāk-pāṇimatā nareṇa ||*

5. T 1. 54 (= PR. 1. 55 ; Du 44) reads as —

*jambuko huḍu-yuddhena vṛyaṁ cāṣāḍhabhūtinaḥ
dūtikū tantravāyena trayo 'narthāḥ svayaṁ kṛtāḥ ||*

In a, instead of *huḍu*°, SP and Du read *meṣa*°, T B and Pn, *huḍa*°. In c, SP and Du have *tantu*° instead of *tantra*°, Spl *nāpuī* for *dūtikū*, and Pn *para-kūryeṇa* instead of *tantravāyena*. In d, Spl and Pn have *doṣāḥ* instead of 'narthāḥ. The agreement of Du and SP shows that the original reading of the verse is :

*jambuko meṣa-yuddhena vṛyam cāṣāḍhabhūtinaḥ
dūtikū tantuvāyena trayo 'narthāḥ svayaṁ kṛtāḥ ||*

6. T 1. 56 (= PR. 1. 57 ; Du 45) reads as —

*sannasya kūryasya samudbhavārtham
āgāmino 'rthasya ca saṁgrahārtham
anārtha-kūrya-pratiśedanārtham
yo manṛyate 'sau paramo hi maniraḥ ||*

In a, instead of *sannasya*, Du reads *āsanna*°, N and SP *bhraṣṭasya* and one Ms. of it *naṣṭasya*; instead of *samudbhavārtham*, SP and Du

read *samuddharārtham*. In c, SP and N have °*pratighātanārtham* instead of °*pratiṣedhanārtham*; and in d, SP, N, Du have *yan* instead of *yaḥ*. The verse does not occur in Spl and Pn.

The word *āsanna*° in Du's reading is used in the rare sense (see Apte) of ' which is about to go down ; which is on the point of sinking ' , that is, ' which is on the point of failure ; which is about to become hopeless to accomplish ' ; and this indicates that the reading is not due to the caprice of some copyist or redactor, but must be the original one of the author himself of the Pañca. This view is confirmed by the readings *bhraṣṭasya kāryasya*, *sannasya kāryasya* and *naṣṭasya kāryasya* found in other recensions, which all appear clearly to be paraphrases of the original reading. It seems very likely therefore that the redactors of these versions, finding that *āsanna*° in the original was used in a rare sense, replaced it by an equivalent word. For the rest, *samuddharārtham* is manifestly more appropriate (it means ' for the purpose of lifting up ' and is correlated with *āsanna*° in *āsanna-kāryasya*) than *samadbhavārtham* ; and the agreement of Du and SP shows that it is the original reading. Similarly, the agreement of Du and T shows that the original reading in c is °*pratiṣedhanārtham*, and the agreement of Du with SP and N that the original reading in d is *yan* and not *yaḥ*.

The original form of the above verse is therefore :

āsanna-kāryasya samuddharārtham
āgāmino 'rthasya ca saṁgrahārtham |
anartha-kārya-pratiṣedhanārtham
yan mantryate 'sau paramo hi mantrah ||

as read by Du.

7. T 1. 68 (= PR. 1. 69 ; Du 60) reads as —

na so 'sti puruṣo rājñām yo na kūmayate śrīyam |
aśakta-bhagna-nānūs tu narendram pary-upāsate ||

In a, Du has *cūṣṭi* instead of *so 'sti*, and SP, N, and Hit, *loke* for *rājñām*. Du reads c as *aśaktāḥ śrīyam ānetum*, SP as *aśaktā bhagnamānūs tu*, Spl as *aśaktā eva sarvatra*, Pn as *na śaktir yūvad anyāpi*; and Hit. and N as *parasya yuvatiṁ ramyām*. For d, Hit. and N have *sākāṅkṣaṁ ne'ṣate 'tha kṣh*, and Pn *tūvat saṁsevate param*.

The agreement of Du and T shows that *rājñām* is the original reading in a, and *narendram pary-upāsate* in d; and in c, the reading

aśaktāḥ śriyam ānetum yields a better meaning than the others with *narendraṁ pary-upāsate* and seems therefore to be original; compare Pn's reading of cd. Of the two readings *cāsti* and *so 'sti* in a, there is nothing to show which is original, but the latter seems to be the better reading. The original form of the verse seems therefore to be :

na soṣti puruṣo rājñāṁ yo na kāmāyate śriyam |
aśaktāḥ śriyam ānetuṁ narendraṁ pary-upāsa'e ||

8. T 1. 71 (= PR. 1. 71 ; Du 55) reads as —

yasmīn evādhikāṁ cakṣur āropayati pārthivaḥ |
sute vā tat-kulīne vā sa lakṣmīyā harate manah ||

In a, Du has *bhāram* for *cakṣur*, and Pn, *api* for *eva*. Spl reads c as *akulīnaḥ kulīno vā*, Pn *ajñāte vā*, Hit. and N. *s ite 'mātye 'py-udāsīne*, and the SP Mss. as *ahī o vā kulīno vā* and *sute vā svakulīne vā*. Spl reads d as *sa śriyo bhājanaṁ naraḥ*, SP, *sa rūjyam abhikāṅkṣati*, Hit. and N, *sa lakṣmīyādriyate* (v. l. **śriyate*) *janah*, and Du, *sva-lakṣmīm harate tadā*.¹

It is obvious that, in a, Du's reading *bhāram āropayati* is the correct one, and that the reading *cakṣur āropayati* found in the other recensions is a mere senseless combination of words and incorrect.²

In c, the agreement of Du and T shows that *sute vā tat-kulīne vā* is the original reading. In d, the reading of T does not fit the context; for the verse, according to T, says that the person on whom the king places more responsibility than usual captivates the mind of Lakṣmī. What the speaker (Damanaka) wants to say is, however not that Lakṣmī is captivated by such a person, but that such person allows his mind to be captivated by Lakṣmī, that is, casts covetous eyes on Lakṣmī, and is a traitor. Compare the sentence *ata evāyaṁ doṣaḥ vyudasya sarvaṁ mrga-janaṁ yasyopary āsthā pratibaddhā so 'yam adhunā svāmīvaṁ abhi-*

¹ The reading *sa lakṣmīyā harate manah* that is printed in ZII. 6, 303 as the fourth pāda is due to oversight.

² The translations of Hertel (" Auf wender König allzugütig [wörtlich : allzusehr] sein Auge richtet ") and Edgerton (" If a king shows too much regard for one person ") of pādas ab do not contain the equivalent of the words *āropayati* and *cakṣur āropayati* respectively.

vāñchatu that immediately precedes this verse in T and the corresponding passages in SP, Spl, Pn, Hit. and Du ; compare also T. Ab. 54 : *sa tāvad drohī*. The original reading therefore is not *sa lakṣmyā harate manaḥ* but *sa lakṣmyā hriyate manaḥ* as is indicated by the corrupt readings (*driyate* ; *śriyate*) of Hit. and N. The original form of the verse is thus without doubt—

yasminn evādhikam bhūram āropayati pārthivaḥ |
sute vā tat-kulīne vā sa lakṣmyā hriyate manaḥ ||

The meaning of the verse is : “ Whomsoever the king entrusts with more responsibility than is usual, whether son or one belonging to his family, his mind is captivated by Lakṣmī ”.

9. T. 1. 89 (= PR. 1. 88 ; Du 89) reads as—

ūcāryū nara-patayaś ca tulya-śīlā
na hy eṣāṃ paricitīr asti sauhṛdam vā |
śuśrūṣāṃ ciraṃ api saṃcitāṃ prayatnāt
samkruddhā raja iva nūṣayanti meghāḥ ||

Outside T, this verse is found in Du only which reads *paricitam* instead of *paricitīḥ* in b, and *sambhṛtam* instead of *saṃcitam* in c. In this latter pāda, *sambhṛtam* is decidedly the better reading; for the word *saṃcita*, though it is appropriate to *rajas*, does not suit *śuśrūṣā* as an attribute, while *sambhṛta*, on the other hand, is a quite appropriate word to be used with *śuśrūṣū* and with *rajaḥ* also. Compare the passages cited under *cira-sambhṛtam* in the PW, s. v. *bhar*. There can be no doubt therefore that *sambhṛtam* was the original reading and that *saṃcitam* is a corruption of it. In pāda b, there is little to choose between the readings *pāricitam* and *paricitīḥ*. The former however balances with the word *sauhṛdam* that follows in the same pāda and may therefore be original, and the latter secondary. The original form of the verse seems therefore to be,

ūcāryū narapatayaś ca tulya-śīlā
na hy eṣāṃ paricitam asti sauhṛdam vā |
śuśrūṣāṃ ciraṃ api sambhṛtāṃ prayatnāt
samkruddhā raja iva nūṣayanti meghāḥ ||

which is the reading of Du.

10. T 1. 99 (= PR. 1. 98 ; Du 97) reads as —

*snigdhair eva hy upakṛti-gaṇair dveṣyatām eti kaścic
chāḥhyād anyair apakṛti-śataih prītim evopayati ।
durgrāhyatvan nṛpati-manasaṇi nāika-bhāvāśrayaṇāṇi
sevā-dharmah parama-gaṇo yoginam apy agamyah ॥*

In a, for *snigdhair eva*, the SP. Mss. read *citraṁ snigdhair* and *prājñaiḥ snigdhair*, Hit. and N, *viññaiḥ snigdhair*, Spl and Pn, *bhūva-snigdhair*; for *hy upakṛti-gaṇair*, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit., and N have *upakṛtam api*, and Du, *apy upakṛtam api*; for *eti*, Spl has *yāti*; and for *kaścic*, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit, N and Du have *kim cit*. In b, for *śāḥhyāt*, SP, Hit. and N have *sākṣāt*, and Du, *snigdhit*; for *apakṛti-śataih*, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit, and Du have *apakṛtam api*, and N, *upakṛtam api*; for *prītim evopayāt*, Spl reads *prīlaye copayāt*, N, *prītim evāpayāti*, and Du, *prītim evātanoti*. In c, for *durgrāhyatvāt*, Spl has *durgāhatvāt* and Du *durgrāhyatvam*; for °*manasām*, SP (some Mss.) and Du have *vacasām*; and for *nauka°*, Du has *eka°*. In d, N has *gahanam* instead of *gahano*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the verse reads originally as :

*snigdhair eva hy upakṛtam api dveṣyatām eti kin cit
snigdhit anyair apakṛtam api prītim evātanoti ।
durgrāhyatvāt nṛpati-vacasām nāika-bhāvāśrayaṇāṇi
sevā-dharmah parama-gaṇo yoginām apy agamyah ॥*

11. T 1. 100 (= PR. 1. 99 ; Du 94) reads as —

*guṇa guṇajñeṣu guṇibhāvanti
te nirguṇaṁ prapya bhavanti doṣāḥ ।
susvādu-toya-pravahā hi nadyah
samudram āśadya bhavanty apyāḥ ॥*

This verse does not occur in Spl and Pn. In a, SP, (some Mss.), N and Du read *guṇāḥ* instead of *guṇī*—. In b, some SP Mss. have *nirguṇān* for *nirguṇam*. In c, instead of *susvādu-toya-pravahā hi*, SP has *susvādu-toya-prabhavā hi* and Du *susvādu-toyāḥ pravahanti*.

The reading *guṇā bhavanti* is, in a, obviously the correct one.¹ Similarly, in c, the reading of SP is obviously better than that of T (a compound like *susvādu-toya-pravaha* with *pravaha* as the last

¹ For, the suffix *cvi* (Pāṇini 5. 4. 50 and *vārttika*) is to be added in the sense of *abhūta-tadbhāva*, which is not suited to *guṇī*- in this verse.

member is not met with elsewhere). That of Du, however, seems to be still better ; for the word *pravahanti* in c balances with the word *bhavanti* in d, and the second half of the stanza becomes thus similar to the first half with its two balanced verbs. The original form of the verse seems to me therefore to be —

*guṇa guṇajñeṣu guṇa bhavanti
te nirguṇaṃ prāpya bhavanti doṣāḥ ।
susvādu-toyāḥ pravahanti nadyaḥ
samudram āśādyā bhavanty apcyāḥ ॥*

as is read by Du.

12. T 1. 105 (= PR. 1. 104 ; Du 93) reads as —

*araṇya-ruditaṃ kṛtāṃ śava-śarīraṃ udvartitaṃ
sthale 'bjaṃ avaropitaṃ badhira-karṇa-jāpaḥ kṛtaḥ ।
śva-pucchaṃ avanāmitaṃ suciraṃ uṣare varṣitaṃ
kṛta 'ndha-mukha-maṇḍana yad abudho janāḥ sevitaḥ ॥*

Pn reads the last three pādas as *sthale kamala-ropaṇaṃ suciraṃ uṣare varṣaṇaṃ । śvapucchaṃ avanāmitaṃ badhira-karṇa-jāpaḥ kṛtaḥ tad andhamukha-maṇḍanaṃ yad abudhe janaḥ bhāṣitaṃ*. SP reads *sthale kamala-ropaṇaṃ* instead of *abjaṃ avaropitaṃ* in b, *satatam* instead of *suciraṃ* in c, and *kṛto 'ndha-mukha-darpaṇo* in d. Du too reads *satatam* in c (but one Ms. has however *suciraṃ*) and *dhrto 'ndha-mukha-darpaṇo* in d (but one Ms. has *tad andha-mukha-darpaṇaṃ*).

Here, it is obvious that the readings *kṛtā 'ndha-mukha-maṇḍanā* and *tad andha-mukha-maṇḍanam* of T and Pn are unsatisfactory, and that the word *maṇḍana* in them is a corruption of the word *darpaṇa* which is found in SP and Du. The holding of a *darpaṇa* or mirror before the face of a blind man is just as useless as the whispering of a mantra into the ears of a deaf person or the massaging of the limbs of a corpse ; for the persons concerned are, in none of these cases, aware of the holding of the mirror, etc. : they do not derive the least benefit from it, and these actions are thus quite futile. It is otherwise with the *maṇḍana* or adorning of a blind man's face. The *maṇḍana* of the face, whether of a blind man or of one who can see, is by its very nature intended to please or attract other persons, and serves that purpose whether the person concerned can see or not. It cannot therefore be said to be futile, as the holding of a mirror before a blind man's face undoubtedly is.

Darpaṇa, thus, is clearly the original reading in pāda d; so therefore is the word *dhṛta* also. Similarly, in c, *suciram* is better than *sata/am* and seems to be the original reading.

The original form of the verse is thus what is read by T, with *dhṛto* 'ndha-mukha-darpaṇo instead of *kṛtā* 'ndha-mukha-maṇḍanū in d.

13. T 1. 111 (= PR. 1. 110) reads as —

*kamala-madbhūṣaṁ tyaktvā pāṇaṁ vibhāya navotpalam
prakṛti-sulabhāṁ gandhoddāmāṁ apāsyā ca mālatīm |
śaṭha-madbhukarāḥ śliṣyantīṁ kaṭāmbuṣu dantīṇaṁ
sulabhāṁ apahāyaivaṁ lokāḥ kaṭeṣu nibhanyate ||*

Pn reads *jala-maṇḍhukarāḥ* *klīṣyantīṁ* and *sulabhāṁ apahāyaivaṁ* *lokaḥ khaleṣu anurajyate* in c and d : and the SP Mss. read *anurajyate*, *abhirajyate* and *hi rajyate* in d after *sujanam apahāyāyaṁ* *lokaḥ khaleṣu*. In b, Pn has *prakṛti-surabhīm* instead of 'subhagām', and N *gandhair ādhyam* instead of *gandhoddāmām*. In d, N has *avahāyo yam* instead of *apahāyaivam*.

Hertel has discussed the readings of this verse on SP, p. LXX and arrived at the conclusion that the correct and original reading is *śliṣyanti* in c and *kaṭeṣu nibhanyate* in d. According to him, *kaṭa* in d has the sense of *kaṭaka*, 'camp, army, court of a king,' and the poet who has used the word in c (in *kaṭāmbuṣu*) uses it again in d in a different sense: the meaning of d is, "So verlassen [auch] die [meisten] Menschen das leicht zu Erlangende, um in den Hofen der Fürsten getötet zu werden. "

All this seems to me to be improbable. It is, in the first place, very unlikely that *kaṭa* = *kaṭaka* and denotes the court of a king; nor is it true that 'most men go to the courts of kings' and 'are killed there.' Pādas a, b, c of the verse, it will be seen, form the *dṛṣṭānta* and pāda d, the *dārṣṭāntika*; but while the *dṛṣṭānta* speaks of bees clinging to the *mada-jala* of elephants, the *dārṣṭāntika* speaks of men being killed. That is to say, there is no congruity between the *dṛṣṭānta* and the *dārṣṭāntika*, which shows that T's reading of the verse is not original (as Hertel opines), but contains corruptions.

It is the opinion of Edgerton (PR. 2, 107 f.) that *klīṣyanti* is the correct reading in c, and *kaṭeṣu hi rajyate* in d; but *kaṭa* is here regarded by him as the Prakrit form of *kṛta* 'the best throw of

dice' and *pāda d*, according to him, means, "Foolish and greedy men renounce safe and sure good fortune to pursue the alluring but allusive 'easy money' that luck in gambling would bring."

That the word *kaṭa* is used by the author in *d* in the sense of 'the best throw of dice' seems to me to be very unlikely; and even if it were, it is not correct to interpret it as 'luck in gambling.' Nor, considering that money won in gambling is 'easy money,' is there any contrast between *śulabhāṃ* and *kaṭa*. Moreover, in Edgerton's reading too there is no congruity between the verb *klīṣyanti* in the *dṛṣṭānta* and *rajyate* in the *dārṣṭāntika*; and it becomes plain that this reading also is corrupt.

The correct and original reading is therefore without doubt *jaḍa°* in *b*, *ślīṣyanti* in *c* and *sujanam* and *khaḍṣv anurajyate* in *d*; and the meaning of *d* is, "The (foolish) world thus turns away from good people and attaches itself to rogues", in the same way as the foolish bees, turning away from the lotus, blue-lotus and *mālātī*, attach themselves to the *mada-jala* of the elephants. It will be noted that, with this reading, there is perfect congruity between the *dṛṣṭānta* and *dārṣṭāntika*.

14. T 1. 120 (= PR. 1. 119; Du 102) reads as —

*mṛdunā salīlena khanyamānāny
apakṣyanti girer api sthalāni |
upajāpa-kṛtyamais tu tajjñaiḥ
kinu cetāṃsi mṛdūni manavanam ||*

In *a*, Du has *bhedyamānūni* for *khanyamānūni*; in *b*, Pn has *avapūṣyanti* instead of *apakṣyanti*. Pn reads *c* as *upajāpa-vidāṃ ca karna-jāpaiḥ*, and Du as *upajāpaka-karna-jāpakauḥpaiḥ*.

The reading *khanyamamānūni* in *a* is unsatisfactory; for though it can be used appropriately with *giri-sthalāni*, it is not appropriate in connection with *mānava-cetāṃsi*. The word *bhedyamānūni*, on the other hand is apposite in connection with *giri-sthalāni* and with *mānava-cetāṃsi* also. Compare T 1. 129; *bhinatti samyak prahito bhedaḥ sthīram-matīn api | bhūdhārān saṃhata-śīlān mahān iva rayo 'mbhasām*. This verse is in fact a paraphrase of the above verse (T 1. 120), and *matī* here = *cetas*.

In *b*, the word *avapūṣyanti* found in Pn has no sense, and is clearly a corruption of *apakṣyanti* which is found in T and Du. In *d*, T's reading means 'by those who know how to whisper

in ears and have made efforts to whisper into ears,' Pn's reading, 'by whispered insinuations of those who are clever in whispering such insinuations,' and Du's, 'by crowds of tale-bearers and slanderers'. This last is plainly the best of the three; and the original form of the verse is thus the reading found in Du.

15. T 1. 125 (= PR. 1. 124; Du 120 reads as —

śator akrandam ajñatva vairam ārahbhatē hi yaḥ |
sa parābhavam āpnoti samudra iva tṭibhāt ||

Pn, Spl and Du read a as *śator balam aviññāya*, and SP, N have *vikramam* instead of *ākrandam*. In b, instead of *ārahbhatē*, N has *ākramatē*, and Du and one Ms. of SP, *ācaratē*; and instead of *hi*, SP, Spl, Pn and Du have *tu*. In d, SP, Du have *tṭibhāt* instead of *tṭibhāt*, and Spl, Pn read the pāda as *samudraḥ tṭibhād iva*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the verse is that found in Du.

16. T 1. 136 (= PR. 1. 130; Du 131) reads as —

kāryāṇy uttama-daṇḍa-sahasā-phalāṇy āyasa-sādhyāni ye
pritya saṁśamayanti nīti-kuśalāḥ sāmnaiva te mantriṇaḥ |
nissārālpa-phalāni ye tv avidhinā vāñchanti daṇḍodyamais
teṣāṃ durnaya-ceṣṭilair narapater āropyate śrīs tulām ||

In a, instead of *°phalāni*, Du has *°mayāni*, in b, instead of *prityā*, Spl has *buddhyā*, and instead of *saṁśamayanti* Du has *saṁnamayanti*; in c, for *daṇḍodyamais*, Du has *daṇḍādhamās*; and Du has *durnaya°* in d, (with cerebral ṇ) for *durnaya*.

Du's reading *daṇḍādhamās*, in c does not fit into the context and is clearly a corruption of the original reading *daṇḍodyamais*. Equally clearly is T's reading *saṁśamayanti* a corruption of the original reading *saṁnamayanti*. The root *saṁ* + *śam*, in the causative, means 'to extinguish, to still, to allay, to appease, etc.; *beschwich-tigen, auflöschen, beruhigen*'; and the expression *kāryāṇi saṁśamayanti* 'they extinguish, allay or appease the affairs' does not make much sense. The root *saṁ* + *nam*, on the other hand, means, in the causative, 'to set right, to bring about, to effect; *zurechtbringen, zuwegebringen*' and the expression *kāryāṇi saṁnamayanti* 'they

accomplish the tasks' fits well into the context of the verse. The original form of the verse is thus :

*kāryāny uttama-daṇḍa-sābha-phalāny āyāsa-sādhyāni ye
prītyā saṁnamayanti nīti-kuśalāḥ sāmnaiva te mantriṇaḥ ॥
nissārālpa-phalāni ye tv avidhinā vāñchanti daṇḍoddyamais
tesāṁ durṇaya-ceṣṭitair narapater āropyate śrīḥ tulām ॥*

17. T 2. 90 (= PR. 2. 55) reads as —

*na svalpam apy avyavasāya-bhīroḥ
karoti vijñāna-vidhir guṇam hi ॥
andhasya kim hasta-tala-sīhito 'pi
nīvartayaty āndhyam iha pradīpaḥ ॥*

Pn, Hit, and SP all read *adhyavasāya*° in a instead of *avyavasāya*°, and *artham* instead of *āndhyam* in d. Further, in d, instead of *nīvartayati*, Pn has *nīvartayet*, Hit. *prakāśayati*, and the SP Mss. *nīdarśayati*, *saṁdarśayati* ; one Ms. has *nīvartayati* with *tīya* however deleted by the writer.

It is the opinion of Hertel (SP. p. LXIV) that *avyavasāya-bhīroḥ* 'unentschlossen and furchtsam' is decidedly better than *adhyavasāya-bhīroḥ* 'ein sich vor einem festen Entschlusse Furchtender', and that Pn's understanding of *nīvartayati* in the sense of 'verschafft' and of *artham nīvartayati* as 'causes a thing to disappear' is incongruous with pāda b which speaks of the accruing of an advantage (*guṇam karoti*), which the removal of blindness undoubtedly is.

This is wrong. As observed by Hertel himself (I. E.) *dhya* in Śāradā Mss. is very similar to *vya* (compare for instance the reading *avyavasāya*° of the Mss. R and p in T 3. 127 instead of *adhyavasāyabhīrubhīḥ*) ; and the agreement among Pn, Hit, and SP shows beyond doubt that *adhyavasāya*° is the original reading in a, and also *artham* in d. *Adhyavasāya-bhīru* does not mean 'ein sich vor einem festen Entschlusse Furchtender' as Hertel believes, or 'one who is afraid to be resolute' as Edgerton translates, but 'one who is afraid of exertion ; one who draws back from the idea of exerting himself ; an *alasa* ' ; and the meaning of the first half-

verse is "The acquisition of knowledge does not confer even the slightest benefit on one who shrinks from exertion". This verse forms part of a harangue which the tortoise Manthara(ka) addresses to the mouse Hiranya(ka) on the desirability of one's putting forth one's exertion, and the whole context shows that this verse, like the preceding¹ and following² verses, is concerned with the extolling of *udyoga*, *kriyā* or *vyavasāya*, 'industry', and the decrying of the opposite: firm resolves and fear have nothing to do here.

In d, Edgerton prints *nivartayaty artham* as the original reading and understands it to mean 'does good'. It is, however, doubtful if *ni-vartay* signifies 'to accomplish', and I am inclined to believe that the original reading is *nirvartayati* (cp. in this connection the reading *nirvartayati* of the Sp Ms. referred to above). The meaning of the second half-verse is, "what purpose, now, does a lamp, even when held in the hand, serve to a blind person?"

The original form of the verse seems thus to have been :

*na svalpam apy adhyavasāya-bhīroh
karoti vijñāna-vidhir guṇam hi ।
andhasya kiṃ hasta-tala-sthilo 'pi
nirvartayaty artham iha pradīpaḥ ॥*

18. T 3. 1 (= PR. 3. 1 ; Du 154) reads as-

*na viśvasat pūrva-parājitasya
śatroḥca mitratvam upāgatasya ।
dagdham guhaṃ paśyata ghuka-paṇam
kāka-praṇītena butāśanena ॥*

In a, instead of °*parājitasya*, SP, Spl, Pn, and Du have °*virodhi tasya*, and N, °*virodhiteṣu*. In b, SP has *tu* and Du (and one Ms.

¹ *śāstrāṇy adhītyāpi bhavanti mūrkhā
yas tu kriyāvān puruṣaḥ sa vidvān ।
ullāghayaty āturam auśadham hi
kim nāma-mātreṇa bhavaty arogaḥ ॥* (T ; p. 87, 1 ff.)

² *tad bhadra nityam udyoga-pareṇa bhavitavyam ।
na daivam iti samcintya tyajet udyogam ātmanah ।
anudyogena kas taila'!! tilebhyah prāptum icchati ॥
udyuktānām hy āyānti dhana-bhogā iti ।* (T ; p. 87, 22 ff.)

of SP) *hi* for *ca* ; N reads the pāda as *dviṣatsu mitratvam upāgateṣu*. In c, SP has *dagdhān grhān* for *dagdhām guhām*, and SP, Spl and Du, *paśya ulūka-pūrṇām* for *paśyata ghūka-pūrṇām* ; in d, N has *kākopanītena*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the verse is that found in Du.

19. T 3. 70 (= PR. 3. 58 ; Du 179) reads as—

anārambhas tu kāryāṇāṁ prathamam buddhi-lakṣaṇam |
ārabdhasyāntagamanam dvitīyam buddhi-lakṣaṇam ||

In a, Pn has *hi* for *tu*, and SP and Du *manusyāṇām* for *tu kāryāṇām*. In c, for *ārabdhasya*, SP has *ārambhasya*, and Du, Pn and one Ms. of T have *prārabdhasya*. This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the verse is that which is found in Du.

20. T 3. 73 (= PR. 3. 60 ; Du 186) reads as—

hinaḥ śatrur nihantavyo yāvan na balavān bhavet |
saṁjāta-bala-pauruṣyaḥ paścād bhavati durjayaḥ ||

In a, SP, N, and T read *hina-* instead of *hinaḥ*. In c, instead of *°bala-pauruṣyaḥ*, some Mss. of SP have *°bala-pakṣaś ca*, Pn, *°pauruṣa-balaḥ*, and Du *°bala-pauṣkalyaḥ*. The original form of the verse is therefore that found in Du.¹

21. T 3. 92 (= PR. 3. 78 ; Du 195) reads as —

varam agnau pradīpe tu prapātaḥ punya-karmaṇām |
na cāri-jana-saṁsargo mūhūrtam api sevitaḥ ||

This is the reading of Pn also. Du however reads pāda b as *prāṇāṇām parivarjanam*, and *°saṁsarge* and *sevanam* in c and d.

It is obvious that Du's reading of cd is inferior to that of T and Pn. His reading of b, on the other hand, seems to be better ; for I see no point in the use of the word *punya-karmaṇām*, as the association with enemies, even for a short time, causes poignant distress to all people, to those who have good *karman* as also to

¹ For *saṁjāta-bala-pauṣkalyaḥ* = *saṁjāta-bahu-balaḥ* or *atyantaḥ balavān*. *saṁjāta-bala-pauruṣyaḥ*, on the other hand, signifies 'grown strong and valiant'.

others. It seems to me therefore that Du's reading of pāda b, which is the better one, is original, and that the verse thus originally read as :

*varam agnau pradīpte tu prāṇānāṃ parivarjanāṃ |
na cāri-jana-saṃsargo muhurtam api sevitaḥ ||*

22. T 3. 107 (= PR. 3. 73 ; Du 200) reads as -

*skandhenāpi vāhec chatrum kalam āsādyā buddhimān |
vahatā kṛṣṇa-sarpeṇa maṇḍūkā vinipātitaḥ ||*

In a, SP, Hit. read *śatrūn* instead of *śatrum* ; in b, SP has *kāryam* instead of *kālam* and Du reads the pāda as *kārya-sādhana-buddhimān*. In c, SP, N, Pn have *mahatā* instead of *vahatā*, and Hit. reads the pāda as *yathā vṛddhena sarpeṇa*. Pāda d is read by Pn as *maṇḍūkā bahavo hatāḥ* and by Du as *maṇḍūko vinipātitaḥ*.

The agreement of T and Du shows that, in a, the original reading is *śatrum* (singular) and not *śatrūn*; and it follows hence that, in d too, the original reading is *maṇḍūko vinipātitaḥ* (singular)² and not *maṇḍūkā vinipātitaḥ* (plural). The Du reading *maṇḍūkāḥ* is moreover supported by Du 197 : *vahed amīram* (singular) *skandhena* and Du 199 : *kiṃ na jñāmy ahaṃ bhadre yadā badhnāmi darduram* (singular). In b, the readings *kālam āsādyā* and *kāryam āsādyā* seem to be both corrupt; for we do not meet elsewhere with any instance of the words *kāla* and *kārya* being used with the root *āsāday*. The compound *kārya-sādhana-buddhimān* on the other hand seems to be unexceptionable; and the original form of the verse seems therefore to be that found in Du.

23. T 3. 121 (= PR. 3. 103 ; Du iv) reads as -

*ko 'ham kau deśa-kālan sama-viśama-guṇāḥ ke nayāḥ ke sabāyāḥ
kā śaktiḥ ko 'bhyupāyo hita-karaṇa-vidhanu kā ca me daiva-sampat |
sāmpatīḥ ko 'nubandhaḥ pratihata-vacanasyottaraṃ kiṃ na me syad
ity evaṃ kārya-siddhāv avahata-manaso nāvahasyā bhavanti ||*

¹ It must be noted however that the sentences *tad rājan yathā Manda-viṣeṇa maṇḍūkā nihataḥ* (T, p. 141, Ab. 252 ;), *tad rājan yathā tena maṇḍūkā bhakṣitaḥ* (SP, p. 53, l. 1149), *rājan yathā Mandaviṣeṇa budhībalena maṇḍūkā nihataḥ* (Pn, p. 225) in T, SP, Pn lend support to their reading of the plural form *maṇḍūkāḥ* in d.

In a, SP, N, and Du have *dviṣaḥ* instead of *mayāḥ*. In b, after *abhyupāyāḥ*, SP has *phalam api ca kiyat kīdṛśī daiva°*, Du *katham api ca kiyat kīdṛśī daiva°*, and N *kulam api ca kiyat kīdṛśū daiva°*. In c, for *sampatteḥ*, SP, N, Du have *sampattau*, and for *kiṃ na*, Du has *kiṃ nu*, and SP, N *kiṃ ca*. In d, instead of *avahata°*, SP, N have *avahita°*, and Du *vyavasita°*; instead of *nūvahūsyū bhavanti*, SP, N have *nūvasīdanti santaḥ*, and Du *nopahūsyam prayānti*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the first three pādas is :

*ko 'haṃ kau deśa-kālan sama-viśama-guṇaḥ ke dviṣaḥ ke sahayaḥ
kā śaktiḥ ko 'bhyupāyāḥ phalam api ca kiyat kīdṛśī daiva-sampat
sampattau ko 'nubandhaḥ pratibata-vacanasyottaram kiṃ nu me syād*

The fourth pāda, probably read originally as *ity evaṃ kārya-siddhāv avahuta-manaso nūpahūsyū bhavanti*.

24. T 3. 125 (= PR. 1. 3) reads as —

*tyāgini śūre viduṣi matimati ca guṇo guṇi-bhavati |
guṇavati dhanam dhanac chrīḥ śrīmaty ājñā tato rājyam ||*

Pn reads *viduṣi ca* in a, *saṃsarga-rucir jano guṇi-bhavati* as b. The SP. Mss. read b differently as *svajanāḥ sadā vasaty eva*, *vastai janaḥ sujano guṇi-bhavati*, *vasati janaḥ sa jano guṇi-bhavati*, *vasati janaḥ sa ca jano guṇi bhavati*, etc. The last-mentioned reading is found in eight Mss. (with some imperfections) and may therefore be taken as the reading of SP. Pāda d reads as *tato jñānam tato rājyam* in some SP Mss. and as *tato vijayas tato rājyam* in some others.

This reading of pāda d is incongruous with what precedes it in c; for there is no connection between *śrīḥ* and *jñānam* or *vijayaḥ*; and it is therefore plain that this reading is corrupt, and that the reading of T-Pn, which is logical, is original. Similarly, T's reading of a, c too is original as shown by the agreement of SP.

Hertel emends pādas a, b and reads them as *tyāgini śūre vidyā viduṣi matimati ca guṇo guṇi-bhavati*. " With this emendation," contends Hertel (SP, p. XLIV et seq.), " we have in T: generous and

valiant person who is learned and sagacious; through sagacity, (the other) virtues first become such; through these virtues he gains wealth, through wealth, pomp and splendour, through pomp and splendour, authority, and through this, kingdom. This order, is more logical than that contained in SP's and Pn's readings of the verse, and shows that the above reading is original."

As pointed out by Edgerton, however, (PR. 2, 98), this emendation is a 'Schlimmbesserung' as it is in disaccord with the prose sentence *tat tyāga-buddhi-saurya-sampannasya rūjyam iti* that precedes it in T; and there is thus no doubt that it is not the original reading. The sequence of ideas in the SP reading¹ of the verse is: liberal, valiant and sagacious person; because of these qualities, people gather round him; through association with them, he becomes virtuous, that is, acquires all kinds of virtues; virtues lead to wealth, and wealth to splendour and glory; splendour and glory bring power, and power kingship. This sequence of ideas, it will be seen, is more logical than that contained in Hertel's reading of the verse.

There is however a defect in it: for it is not association with people generally, that is, with people indiscriminately, that makes one virtuous, but association with good, i. e., virtuous, people that does so. This idea is a commonplace one in Sanskrit literature; compare Pn. 1. 415: *labhate puruṣas tāms tām guṇa-doṣān sādhu-asādhu-samparkāt* and *ibid.* 1. 417: *saṃsargajā doṣa-guṇā bhavanti* and the story introduced by this verse; compare also the section on *sat-saṃgati-prasaṃsā* in *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*. If then one bears this in mind and also takes note of the fact that the words *sujanah* (*svajanah*²), *vasati*, *guṇī bhavati* occur in the various readings of pāda b contained in the different SP. Mss., the conclusion seems irresistible that the original read *vasati sujanah* in b instead of *vasati janah*. Probably, pāda b read in the original as

¹ In the SP reading of pāda b (*vasati janah sa ca juno guṇī bhavati*), the first *janah* refers to the people that gather round the liberal, valiant and sagacious person; the second *janah* however refers to this person himself.

² This is another form of *sujanah*; see my *Vedic Studies*, 1. 41 ff.

vasati sujanah sa jano guni bhavati. The meaning of the verse with this reading is, " Good people gather round a person who is liberal, valiant, and sagacious ; this person then becomes virtuous (through association with these good people) ; to the virtuous person comes wealth ; wealth leads to splendour and glory, splendour and glory to power, and to kingship. "

I consider then that the reading

tyāgini śūre viduṣi vasati sujanah sa jano¹ guṇi bhavati |
guṇavati dhanam dhanāc chrīḥ śrīmaty ājñā tato rājyam ||

is original so far as pādas a, c, d are concerned, and that this reading of b is, if not original, at least very near to it.

25. T 4. 13 (= PR. 4. 15 ; Du 204) reads as —

dharmam artham ca kāmam ca tritayam yo 'bhi-vāñchat |
so 'rikta-pāṇih paśyeta brāhmaṇam nṛpatiṁ striyam ||

Pāda c is read by the SP Mss. as *na paśyed rikta-pāṇir gām, na gacched rikta-pāṇir gām, na paśyed rikta-pāṇis tu*, etc., and by Du as *rikta-pāṇir na gacchet tu*. Pāda d is read by Du as *gurum narapatiṁ striyam*, and by the SP Mss. as *brāhmaṇam nṛpatiṁ striyam, gurum bhūmipatiṁ striyam, brāhmaṇam dāvatam striyam* and *stri-nṛpa-brāhmaṇān bhuvī*.

The agreement of SP and Du shows that T's reading of pādas a, b is original. Regarding d, the reading *gurum*, it seems to me, is decidedly better than T's reading *brāhmaṇam*. For, the *guru* is the proper person to turn to, and not a Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas in general, when one wants to be advised with regard to *dharma*; and he may be said to be the dispenser of *dharma*, in the same way as a king is of *artha*, and women of *kāma*. And since Du's reading *gurum* is supported by a SP Ms. also, there seems to be no doubt that it is original.

¹ It would obviate all misunderstanding if, instead of *janah*, we had a word like *narah*. But the Mss. show no trace of such a reading.

In pāda c, too, similarly, Du's reading *na gacchet* is better than the readings *na paśyeta* and *na paśyet* of T and SP; for, both these versions refer to the act of *gamana* or going with a present held in the hand. Compare SP, p. 56, l. 1595: *tad grhītvā gamanam ucitam* | uktam ca | *dharmam arthaṃ ca kāmam ca* ... T, p. 151, l. 20: *tad aham ahṛdayaḥ kiṃ tatra gatvā karisyāmīti tathā ca* | *kṛtārthasya śobhanam tvaj-jāyā-sakāśa-gamanam* | uktam ca | *dharmam arthaṃ ca kāmam ca* This is the case in Du also where it is said, "For, is it not said: *dharmam arthaṃ ca kāmam ca* ...? They say that one should not go (i. e., visit) even to ordinary relations with empty hands; and moreover, how is it possible to go to a sick woman without medicines?" The reading *na gacchet* is moreover found in a SP Ms. also; and this indicates that it is original. The original form of the verse is thus what is found in Du.¹

26. SP 3. 63 (= Pn. 3. 211 ; Du 127) reads as —

durmantriṇaṃ kam upayānti na nīti-dosāḥ
sanitāpayanti kam apathya-bhujāṃ na rogāḥ |
kam śrīr na darpayati kam na nibhanti mṛtyuḥ
kaṇi strī-gatā na viṣayāḥ paritāpayanti ||

The only difference in reading is found in pāda d where Pn has *svikṛtāḥ* and Du *strī-kṛtāḥ* instead of *strī-gatāḥ*. These readings show that *strī-kṛtāḥ* is original, and that hence the original form of the verse is that contained in Du.

27. Pn 3. 35 (= Du. 196) reads as —

yad apasarati meṣaḥ kārāṇaṃ tat prahartuṃ
mṛga-patir ati-kopāt sanikucaty utpatiṣṇuḥ |
hṛdaya-nibhita-vairā gṇḍha-mantra-pracārāḥ
kim api vigaṇayanto buddhimantaḥ sahanṭe ||

Du has *api kopāt* instead of *ati-kopāt* in b, and *nītimantaḥ* instead of *buddhimantaḥ* in d. In Pn, the verse is preceded by the sentence *aparaṃ kūrṇya-kārāṇāpekṣayā 'pasaraṇaṃ kriyata itī nītiḥ* which shows that Du's reading *nītimantaḥ* is justified and original. Similarly, Du's reading *api kopāt* too in b seems clearly to

¹ The word *tu* too is found in c in two SP Mss.

be better than that of Pn. The original form of the verse is hence that found in Du.

28. Pn 3. 48 (= Du 167) reads as —

asahūyaḥ samartho 'pi tejasvī api karoti kim ।

nivāte patito vahnīḥ svayam evopasāmyati ॥

Du reads pādas bcd as *tejasvī kim kariṣyati nivāta-patito vahnīḥ svayam eva praśāmyati*.

The reading *svayam eva praśāmyati* in d is found in four Mss. of Pn, and there is thus no doubt that this is the original reading. In pādas bc, there is nothing to point out which is the original reading; but *nivāte patitaḥ* seems to be better than *nivāta-patitaḥ* and *api* seems to be unnecessary after *tejasvī* in b. The original form of the verse seems therefore to be :

asahūyaḥ samartho 'pi tejasvī kim kariṣyati ।

nivāte patito vahnīḥ svayam eva praśāmyati ॥

SAMANTABHADRA'S DATE AND DR. PATHAK

BY

PANDIT JUGALKISHORE MUKHTAR

" In the course of my studies I have found that the time has now arrived for the revision of what one may call the ' canons of research. ' What is in my mind will be made clear by means of an example. It has been found that Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya criticises the nihilistic doctrine. From this the learned scholars have deduced that this writer lived after Nāgārjuna whose work happens to be the oldest exponent of that doctrine that we can find at present. Is this a valid deduction ? Is it not possible that other writers might have dealt with the subject before Nāgārjuna ? Are not traces of the doctrine found in the teachings of the great Buddha himself ? At best the said inference could be regarded as mere presumption— and a very doubtful presumption at that. ' ' —Mm. Dr. Ganganatha Jha. ¹

In his paper, ' On the Date of Samantabhadra ' contributed to the Annals of the B. O. R. I. (Vol. XI, ii, pp. 149-54) Dr. K. B. Pathak, B. A., Ph. D. has attempted to prove that Samantabhadra belonged to the first half of the eighth century A. C. The traditional view among the Jainas is that Samantabhadra flourished in the second century A. C., and this view has been upheld by some modern scholars also. When I read through Dr. Pathak's paper which was so kindly brought to my notice by my friend Pt. Nathuram Premi of Bomay, I found it to be a scrappy patchwork of mis-understood or rather half understood facts, and ultimately after a close scrutiny of his evidences I was convinced that his conclusion was not correct and reasonable. And hence with a view to clear the misunderstanding created by Dr. Pathak's paper and to place the facts in their proper light I am writing this article.

¹ See his Presidential Address at the Third All-India Oriental Conference Madras, 1924.

DR. PATHAK'S EVIDENCES

It is easy to fix the date of Samantabhadra if we carefully study his Yuktyānuśāsana and his Āptamīmāṃsā '— with this introductory remark he gives his evidences which might be serially summarised thus—

I--Samantabhadra, in the following verse of his Yuktyānuśāsana, attacks the well-known definition of perception given by Dharmakīrti in the Nyāyabindu. Samantabhadra's verse runs thus—

‘प्रत्यक्षनिर्देशवदप्यसिद्ध-
मकल्पकं ज्ञापयितुं ह्यशक्यम् ।
विना च सिद्धेर्न च लक्षणार्थो
न तावकद्वेषिणि वीर ! सत्यम् ॥ ३३ ॥’

II--In the Āptamīmāṃsā, verse 80, Samantabhadra says that Dharmakīrti contradicts himself when he says--

‘सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदो नीलताद्वयोः’ ।

—प्रमाणविनिश्चय

III--In the Āptamīmāṃsā, verse 106, Samantabhadra attacks the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* of Dharmakīrti. For these three reasons it is clear that Samantabhadra comes after Dharmakīrti.

IV--Bhartrihari puts forth the doctrine of *śabdādvaita* in this manner--

“ न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ॥
वाग्रूपता चेदुत्क्रामेद्वबोधस्य शाश्वती ।
न प्रकाशः प्रकाशेत सा हि प्रत्यवमर्शिनी ॥ ”

This very doctrine of Bhartrihari has been severely criticised by the Śvetāmbara author Haribhadrāsūri in his *Anekānta-jaya-patākā*, where he quotes Samantabhadra, whom he calls *vādi-mukhya*—

‘एतेन यदुत्क्रामाह च शब्दार्थवित्, वाग्रूपता चेदुत्क्रामेत् इत्यादि कारिकाद्वयं तदन्वि-
प्रत्युक्तम् । तुल्ययोगक्षेमत्वादिति आह च ... वादिमुख्यः—

बोधात्मा चेच्छब्दस्य न स्यादन्यत्र तच्छ्रुतिः ।

यद्वोद्धारं परित्यज्य न बोधोऽन्यत्र गच्छति ॥

न च स्यात्प्रत्ययो लोके यः ओत्रा न प्रतीयते ।

शब्दाभेदेन सत्येवं सर्वः स्यात्परचित्तवत् ॥ इत्यादि । '

It is thus clear that the doctrine of *Śabdādvaita* is positively wrong in the opinion of Samantabhadra. Comparing Samantabhadra's words, ' *na ca syāt pratyayo loke* ' etc. with Bhartṛhari's words ' *na so'sti pratyayo loke* ' etc., it is found that Samantabhadra refutes Bhartṛhari's opinion as nearly as possible in the latter's own words. It was peculiar with mediaeval authors to quote as nearly as possible the very words of persons whose opinions they wished to refute. (Here Dr. Pathak adds some illustrations.) Therefore Samantabhadra is later than Bhartṛhari.

V—Lakṣmīdhara, the pupil of Samantabhadra, in his *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* says—

‘अनेकान्तलक्ष्मीविलासावासाः सिद्धसेनार्याः असिद्धिं प्रति(त्य)पादयन् । षड्दर्शन-
रहस्यसंविदनसंपादितनिस्सीमपाण्डित्यमण्डिताः पूज्यपादस्वामिनस्तु विरोधं साधयन्ति
स्म । सकलतार्किकचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिमेचकितचरणमयूखा भगवन्तः श्रीस्वामिसमन्त-
भद्राचार्या असिद्धिबिरोधावब्रुवन् । तदुक्तं ।

असिद्धं सिद्धसेनस्य विरुद्धं देवनन्दिनः ।

द्वयं समन्तभद्रस्य सर्वथैकान्तसाधनमिति ॥

नित्याथैकान्तहेतोर्बुधततिमाहितः सिद्धसेनो ह्यसिद्धं ।

ब्रूते श्रीदेवनन्दी विदितजिनमतः सन्विरोधं व्यनक्ति ॥ '

From this passage of *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* it is clear that Pūjya-pāda lived prior to Samantabhadra. And the sūtra,—चतुष्टयं 'समन्तभद्रस्य' V, 4, 168, found in the Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa of Pūjyapāda, where Samantabhadra's name is referred to, is an interpolation, since Jaina Śākaṭāyana who has copied many sūtras from Jainendra is content to use the word *vā* instead of mentioning Samantabhadra's name.

VI—In *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* Lakṣmīdhara quotes a verse of Bhaṭṭācārya thus—

वर्णात्मकाश्च ये शब्दाः नित्याः सर्वगतास्तथा ।

पृथक्प्रव्यतया ते तु न युगाः कस्यचिन्मताः ॥

—इति भट्टाचार्याः (यवचनात्)

This Bhaṭṭācārya is Kumārila himself as it is clear from the following quotations—

‘तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यमीमांसा-त्रिकवार्तिके ।

यस्यानवयवः स्फोटो व्यज्यते वर्णबुद्धिभिः ।

सोऽपि पर्यनुयोगेन नैकेनापि विमुच्यते ॥ इति ’ ।

तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यः

प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते ।

जगच्च सृजतस्तस्य किं नाम न कृतं भवेत् ’ ॥ इति ।

- सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह

Since Lakṣmīdhara, the pupil of Samantabhadra, quotes Kumārila, it is not possible that Samantabhadra might have flourished long before Kumārila but both of them might have been contemporaries or Samantabhadra flourished a little earlier than Kumārila.

VII—In my paper entitled ‘The Position of Kumārila in Digambara Jaina Literature’ I have proved that Āpta-mīmāṃsā of Samantabhadra and its first commentary called Aṣṭaśatī of Akalaṅka are severely criticised by Kumārila and defended by Akalaṅka’s two junior contemporaries, Vidyānanda Pātra-kesari and Prabhācandra. Akalaṅkadeva flourished during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Sāhasatūṅga-dantidurga, and Prabhācandra lived on into the reign of Amoghavarṣa I, as he quotes Ātmānuśāsana of Guṇabhadra. The literary activities of Akalaṅka and his critic Kumārila must be placed in the latter half of the eighth century. And since Samantabhadra refutes the opinions of Dharmakīrti and Bhartṛhari and his pupil Lakṣmīdhara quotes Kumārila we are forced to assign Samantabhadra to the first half of the eighth century.

SCRUTINY OF DR. PATHAK’S EVIDENCES

None of the three evidences to show that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti is satisfactory.

(I) The conclusion deduced from the first evidence is not guaranteed by the quotation from Yuktyānuśāsana since in that verse of Samantabhadra neither the name of Dharmakīrti, nor that of his work Nyāyabindu is mentioned : nor is quoted there the definition of perception which, according to Dharmakīrti, runs thus—

‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम्’ ।

If it is argued that the word *akalpaka*, used by Samantabhadra, is indicative of the words *nirvikalpaka* and *kalpanāpoḍha* and that it has been used with Dharmakīrti's definition of *pratyakṣa* in view, it is necessary to prove first that Dharmakīrti was the first author to qualify *pratyakṣa* with words like *akalpaka*, *nirvikalpaka* or *kalpanāpoḍha* and none else before him has used such adjectives. But it is not proved at all nor can it be. Dinnāga,¹ the great Buddhist logician that flourished during 345-415 A. C. and thus who is earlier than Dharmakīrti has composed many works on logic such as *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. He has used the word *kalpanāpoḍha* in his definition of perception which runs thus—

‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्’² ।

The Brāhmanic logician Udyotakara quotes this definition in his *Nyāya-vārtika* and severely criticises Dinnāga's view about perception. Dharmakīrti attacks Udyotakara and that Udyotakara flourished before Dharmakīrti is accepted by Dr. Pathak himself in his paper ‘Bhartrhari and Kumārila’.³ Further Dr. Pathak himself has pointed out⁴ that the following verse, quoted with the introductory remark *tathā cōktam* by Akalanka in *Rājavārtika*, belongs to Dinnāga —

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं नामजात्यादियोजना ।
असाधारणहेतुत्वादक्षैस्तद्वचपदिश्यते ॥

Thus it is clear that Dharmakīrti is not the only author to qualify the definition of *pratyakṣa* with the word *kalpanāpoḍha*. If Dharmakīrti were to be taken as the first author to set that adjective in vogue, then even Dinnāga will have to be put later than Dharmakīrti — that position is hardly acceptable to Dr. Pathak, nor is it historically justified since Dharmakīrti is the author of a *vārtika* on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* of Dinnāga. In fact Dharma-

¹ Vide Introduction to *Tattvasaṃgraha* No. XXX, GOS.

² This sentence is found both in *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and *Nyāyapraveśa*, and *Vācaspatimiśra* in his *Nyāyavārtika-ṭīkā* quotes this definition as that of Dinnāga.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII, p. 229.

⁴ *Annals of B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

kirti¹ made further improvement in Logic after Dinnāga, as it has been eloquently declared by I-tsing who travelled in India during 671-695. He merely improved on Dinnāga's definition by adding the word *abhrānta*. But no such word as *abhrānta* or any prototype of it is used by Samantabhadra and hence it cannot be said that Samantabhadra had Dharmakirti's definition of perception in view. Samantabhadra's attack on the definition of perception as *nirvikalpaka* can be extended to the view of Dharmakirti only because he too was one of those who had adopted that definition. And it is just natural, in view of the popularity and fame of Dharmakirti, that all authors who came after him had prominently before their mind's eye the definition of Dharmakirti. So Vidyānanda, who has been wrongly identified with Pātrakesari by Dr. Pathak, quotes in his commentary² on that verse (viz. verse 33 of Yuktyānuśāsana, of Samantabhadra), as an example, the definition of Dharmakirti-

‘कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षमिति लक्षणमस्यार्थः प्रत्यक्षप्रत्यायनम्’ ।

This definition, being popular in Vidyānanda's time, required refutation at his hands. It could have been equally said by Vidyānanda that the definition of perception is —

‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्’ ।

Then there are many authors of later age who have used the word *nirvikalpaka* in their definition of perception, and Samantabhadra can be said, today, to have equally refuted their views. But we cannot say that Samantabhadra was later than all of them. Dr. Pathak's hypothesis that Dharmakirti is the first to use the word *kalpanāpoḍha* is shown to be groundless and hence his conclusion that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakirti falls to the ground like a cabin of cards.

I wish to indicate here that even Dinnāga cannot be credited with originality of having defined perception as *nirvikalpaka* since, even Vasubandhu, (280-360 A. C.) who was an elder contemporary and teacher of Dinnāga, considers *samyag-jñāna-pratyakṣa* to be

¹ Vide, Dr. Vidyabhusana's History of Indian Logic p. 306.

² See Yuktyānuśāsana with Vidyānanda's commentary published in Manikchanda Jaina Grantha-māla. Vol. XV, p. 67.

nirvikalpa as it is clear from his treatises like *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* and *Trimśikā-Vijñapti-kārikā*.¹ To go a step further, there are evidences to show that *samyagjñāna* was qualified as *nirvikalpa* even before the time of Vasubandhu and the tradition of such a knowledge being both perceptual and inferential is accepted even by Dharmakīrti in his *Nyāyabindu* thus —

‘ द्विविधं सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च ’ ।

The following extract from *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* put in the mouth of Buddha will make clear our point —

‘ मयाऽन्यैश्च तथागतेरनुगम्य यथावद्देशितं प्रज्ञप्तं विवृतमुत्तानिकृतं यत्रानुगम्य सम्यगवबोधोऽप्यनुगतो विकल्पस्याप्रवृत्तिः स्वप्रत्यक्षात्मयज्ञानानुकूलं तीर्थकरपक्ष-परपक्षश्रावकप्रत्येकबुद्धागतिलक्षणं तत्सम्यग्ज्ञानम् ’ । पृ. २२८.

When from early times Buddhists considered *samyagjñāna* to be free from *Vikalpa*, it is self-evident that its part *Pratyakṣa* is free from *Vikalpa* (*nirvikalpaka*). It is possible that Ārya Nāgārjuna in some of his works—possibly in his *Yukti-śaṣṭhikā-kārikā*² — might have qualified perception as *aklapaka* or *nirvikalpaka* and perhaps with that in view Samantabhadra might have put forth his attack. Nāgārjuna³ lived about 181 A. C., and Samantabhadra too is traditionally put in the second century A. C. There is a similarity in the names of their works (*Yuktyanūsāsana* and *Yuktiśaṣṭhikā*), and even the number of verses is practically the same. If we are correct in our surmises given above, then Samantabhadra may be a contemporary of Nāgārjuna : some other cumulative evidences will be given later on. From the above discussion it is quite clear that Samantabhadra cannot be later than Dharmakīrti.

(II) The second evidence too is equally weak to lend any support to Dr. Pathak's conclusion. The verse No. 80 of *Āptamīmāṃsā* runs thus —

¹ Both these works have been published with Sr. commentary by Sylvain Le'vi, Paris ; the commentary of the first appears to be *svopajña* and that of the second is by Ācārya Sthiramati.

² This work of Nāgārjuna is mentioned by Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhusan in his 'History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic,' P. 70.

³ Vide Introduction to *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

‘साध्यसाधनविज्ञातेर्यदि विज्ञातिमात्रता ।
न साध्यं न च हेतुश्च प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदोषतः’ ॥

Here is referred to neither the name of Dharmakīrti nor his sentence —

‘सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदो नीलतद्धियोः’ ।

We fail to understand how Dr. Pathak says, ‘Samantabhadra says that Dharmakīrti contradicts himself when he says —

‘सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदो नीलतद्धियोः’ ।

It appears that Dr. Pathak found that statement *sahopambha* etc. in *Aṣṭasahasrī* and other commentaries and as well in *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti and was led to the groundless conjecture that Samantabhadra was referring to Dharmakīrti. We might give here the extract from *Aṣṭasahasrī* —

“प्रतिज्ञादोषस्तानस्त्ववचनविरोधः साध्यसाधनविज्ञानस्य विज्ञातिमात्रमाभिलपतः प्रसज्यते । तथा हि । सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदो नीलतद्धियोर्द्विचन्द्रदर्शनवदित्यत्रार्थसंविदो सहदर्शनमुपेत्यैकत्वैकान्तं साध्यन् कथमवधेयाभिलापः ? ” । पृ. २४२

It is really a bold step to ascribe the view of the commentator to the original author! The original verse attacks Buddhists that hold the doctrine of *viññapti-mūratā* and there were authors, both before as well as after Samantabhadra, who subscribed to this doctrine. And Samantabhadra's attack may be directed towards both by the commentators in later age and we often come across such phrases, *etena tadapi nirastaṁ bhavati*, — *pratyuktaṁ bhavati*, *etena yaduktaṁ Bhaṭṭena tannirastaṁ*. If Vidyānanda, commenting on a verse of Samantabhadra, criticises Dharmakīrti in his commentary, it would not be a valid inference to say that Dharmakīrti preceded Samantabhadra in age : it certainly means that Dharmakīrti was earlier than Vidyānanda. If the writers referred to and attacked in the commentaries were to be placed earlier than the original author, then there would be a chaos in history and chronology. The attacks in commentaries are not historically arranged but they are the outcome of doctrinal enthusiasm and therein they go on attacking all available views, early and contemporary, and some times even though there are no such indications in the original. If the view of commentators was historical they would have quoted and criticised only those

authors who preceded in age the writer on whose text they are commenting. It would be ridiculous to infer that Kant was earlier than Śaṅkarācārya if a modern annotator on Śaṅkara-bhāṣya quotes and criticises Kant when commenting on a particular view of Śaṅkara.

Moreover the doctrine of *Vijñaptimātratā* was current even before Dharmakīrti, and earlier authors like Vasubandhu, as we have remarked above, have composed treatises like *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* and *Trimiśikā-vijñapti-kārikā*. It is the doctrine of Buddhists, especially of *Vijñānādvaita-vādinah* of the Yogācāra School, and as such it was current even before the time of Vasubandhu as it is clear from the following verse where he says that the proof of the doctrine of *Vijñapti-mātratā* is possible for Buddha only, and it is beyond his capacity to fully comprehend the same —

विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः स्वशक्तिसदृशी मया ।

कृतेयं सर्वथा सा तु न चिन्त्या बुद्धगोचरः ॥

Laṅkāvatāra is an old Buddhist work composed before Vasubandhu and referred to by Āryadeva who was an eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna.¹ In that work, among the 108 questions put to Buddha by Mahāmāti there is a question about *Vijñapti-mātratā* which runs thus —

‘विज्ञप्तिमात्रं च कथं ब्रूहि मे वदतांवर’ ॥ २-३७ ॥

And further in the third section of the same work we find a discussion about it thus —

‘यदा त्वालम्ब्यमर्थं नोपलभ्यते ज्ञानं तदा विज्ञप्तिमात्रव्यवस्थानं भवति विज्ञप्तेर्ग्राह्याभावाद् ग्राहकस्याप्यग्रहणं भवति । तद्ग्रहणान्न प्रवर्तते ज्ञानं विकल्पसंशब्दितं ।’

Thus this doctrine of Buddhists is very old and it is no wonder that even the statement *sahopalambha* etc. of Dharmakīrti might have been derived by him from some previous source. Therefore it is impossible that Samantabhadra can be placed later than Dharmakīrti from that particular verse of Āptamīmāṃsā. If Dharmakīrti is taken to be the original propounder of the doctrine of *Vijñapti-mātratā* then Vasubandhu and other authors would be

¹ See Indian Logic pp. 243 and 261.

later than Dharmakīrti — a position which is historically impossible and which even Dr. Pathak cannot willingly accept. Thus his second evidence is equally useless to prove that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti.

(III) The verse of Āptamīmāṃsā referred to by Dr. Pathak in his third evidence runs thus —

सधर्मणैव साध्यस्य साधर्म्यादिविरोधतः ।

स्याद्वादप्रविभक्तार्थविशेषव्यञ्जको नयः ॥ १०६ ॥

Here we find a definition of *naya* with no explicit reference to the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* viz. पक्षधर्मत्वं सपक्षे सत्त्वं विपक्षे चासत्त्वं of the Buddhists, nor is it attacked in any way. To translate the above verse : *Naya* is what suggests the particular feature of a matter coming within the scope of *Syādvāda*, such a suggestion being based on the similarity of attributes, of the thing intended to be proved, with another possessing similar attributes as also on the absence of any conflict. Pātrakesari became a convert to Jainism by hearing this Āpta-mīmāṃsā also known as *Devāgama-Stotra*; but the nature of inference as conceived by Jaina Logicians was not clear to him, was not explicit to him from *Devāgama-stotra* and also how it differed from the Buddhist view of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu*. This doubt of Pātrakesari became soon cleared when he got the following verse —

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किं ।

नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किं ॥

And it is with the help of this verse that he was able to criticise the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* of Buddhists. But Akalaṅka, a versatile commentator, who flourished later than Pātrakesari could read in the original verse of Samantabhadra an indication as to the futility of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* and his commentary on that verse runs thus —

‘ सपक्षेणैव साध्यस्य साधर्म्यादित्यनेन हेतोर्लक्षण्यमविरोधात् इत्यन्यथानुपपत्तिं च दर्शयता केवलस्य त्रिलक्षणस्यासाधनत्वमुक्तं तत्पुत्रत्वादिवत् । ’ — अष्टशती

Even if we suppose that Samantabhadra had in view the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* in the very manner in which Akalaṅka could expand it in his commentary, it is not proved that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti since Dharmakīrti is not the first author

to propound the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* as it is clear from works such as *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and *Hetucakra-damaru* of Dinnāga: in the former work there is a chapter called *trirūpa-hetu*.¹ Nāgārjuna, in his *Pramāṇa-vihetanā* is credited to have substituted the five-fold syllogism of Naiyāyikas by a threefold one:² from this it is clear that he accepted *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* in place of *pañca-lakṣaṇa-hetu*. Thus we can trace the origin of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* as far as Nāgārjuna.

Besides it is clear from the following two verses quoted by *Prasastapāda* attributing their authorship to Kāśyapa that the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* was current among the *Vaiśeṣikas* from a very long time³ —

यदनुमेयेन संबद्धं प्रसिद्धं च तदन्विते ।
तदभावे च नास्त्येव तद्विज्ञानमुपापकम् ॥
विपरीतमतो यस्यादेकेन द्वितयेन वा ।
विरुद्धासिद्धसंदिग्धमलिङ्गं काश्यपोऽब्रवीत् ॥

Therefore it is impossible that Samantabhadra can be later than Dharmakīrti as the source of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* can be traced as far as Nāgārjuna and perhaps even earlier. So the third evidence is equally futile to support his conclusion.

In all the three evidences which are based on different passages from Samantabhadra's works nowhere there is explicit reference to Dharmakīrti or to his statements, nor is Dharmakīrti the first propounder of the various views which are said to have been criticised by Samantabhadra according to Dr. Pathak. Therefore all these evidences, as shown above, are not sufficient to prove that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti.

(IV) The fourth evidence too is not to the point. The validity of the statement, that Samantabhadra refutes Bhartṛhari's opinion as nearly as possible in the latter's own words, depends on two things, which are not proved at all by Dr. Pathak but simply taken for granted, viz. (i) that the two verses *bodhāt mā cecchabdasya* etc. really belong to the authorship of Samantabhadra and (ii) that

¹ See *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 85-99.

² See *हिन्दुत्वज्ञानोद्दिष्टा* by Narmada Shankar Mehta, p. 182.

³ Vide *Introduction to Nyāyapraveśa*, p. 23, published in G. O. S.

none else before Bhartṛhari has propounded the doctrine of *Śabdādvaita*.

Dr. Pathak has not indicated from what work of Samantabhadra these two verses are taken. They are not found in any of the available works of Samantabhadra, nor are they mentioned in the works of Prabhācandra and Vidyānanda who are in the habit of closely following the verses of Samantabhadra. Vidyānanda's refutation of the doctrine of *Śabdādvaita* is based on the words of Akalaṅka, and not of Samantabhadra, as he says in the following passage from *Śloka-vārtika* —

“सर्वथैकान्तानां तदसंभवं भगवत् समन्तभद्राचार्यन्यायाद्वाचाद्येकान्तनिराकरण-
प्रवणत्वादेव वक्ष्यमाणाच्च न्यायात्संक्षेपतः प्रवचनप्रामाण्यदार्ढ्यमवधार्य तत्र निश्चितं
नामात्मसात्कृत्य संप्रति श्रुतस्वरूपप्रतिपादकं अकलङ्क्यन्थमनुवादपुरस्सरं विचार-
यति । पृ. २३९.

It is imaginable that Vidyānanda, a close student of Samantabhadra's works as he is, would have quoted these two verses in this context if they really belonged to Samantabhadra. That Samantabhadra is the author of these two verses is a doubtful point. The prose portion quoted along with these two verses appears to be a part of the so called *svopajña-vṛtti* of Anekānta-jaya-patākā. The two verses are attributed to Vādimukhya and not explicitly to Samantabhadra. We do not know and Dr. Pathak also is silent whether there is any marginal note or anything like that, according to which Vādimukhya can be identified with Samantabhadra. So long these verses are not found in Samantabhadra's works and so long there is no definite evidence to identify Vādimukhya with Samantabhadra one cannot accept the authorship of these two verses attributed to Samantabhadra. There are many such cases of wrong identification in the history of Jaina Literature and a few instances might be quoted here. Rāmasena is the author of *Tattvānūsāsana* but in the edition of the Manikachandra Jaina Granthamālā its authorship is attributed to Nāgasena,¹ the teacher of Rāmasena, and this mistake is later on adopted by all. Similarly Prameya-Kamala-Mārtanḍa is a commentary on the *Parikṣā-mukha* of Māṇikyanandi and there must have been some Sk. gloss on Prameya-Kamala-Mārtanḍa. The following verse of Prameya-Kamala-Mārtanḍa is

¹ See Jaina Hitalehi Vol. XIV. p. 313.

printed, without any distinction, in the Nirnayasāgara edition of the above work; and naturally some scholars have attributed it to Mānikyanandi. The verse runs thus —

सिद्धं सर्वजनप्रबोधजननं सद्योऽकलङ्काभयं
विद्यानन्दसमन्तभद्रयुगतो नित्यं मनोनन्दनम् ।
निर्दोषं परमागमार्थविषयं प्रोक्तं प्रमालक्षणं
युक्त्या चेतसि चिन्तयन्तु सुधियः श्रीवर्धमानं जिनम् ॥

Some scholars, misled by this wrong attribution have supposed that Mānikyanandi mentions the name of Vidyānanda. Dr. Pathak also has remarked elsewhere that Mānikyanandi refers to Vidyānanda and this is due to this wrong attribution. Dr. Vidyabhushana, therefore, was led to remark thus, " Mr. Pathak says that Mānikyanandi has mentioned Vidyānanda but in the text of Parikṣā-Mukha-Śāstra itself I have not come across any such mention. " ¹

The relegation of these two verses to the authorship of Samantabhadra is very doubtful and any conclusion based on that cannot be valid. Even if it is proved that these are Samantabhadra's verses, still to put Samantabhadra later than Bhartṛhari it is necessary to show that Bhartṛhari was the first promulgator of the doctrine of *śabdādvaita*. But this is not guaranteed, since Pāṇini and other authors, many of whom have been quoted by Bhartṛhari, subscribed to the doctrine of *śabdādvaita*. Is it a valid supposition that the view *na so'sti pratyayo* etc. did not belong to any previous author? When two authors write on the same topic there is a possibility of verbal similarity; ² not to say of those

¹ History of Indian Logic, p. 188, footnote, 7.

² Here we would like to quote two passages from 'Malaviya commemoration volume' written by two different persons to show the possibility of verbal agreement when two people write on the same topic. G. N. Chakravarti Esq. writes - " when he entered the legal profession he, with his brilliant intellect and rare powers of eloquence, *had the ball at his feet*, and it does not need much insight to see that he might have easily climbed to the highest rung of the ladder if he had only chosen to give his whole attention and energy to the profession. "

R. B. Sanval Das writes - " Had he concentrated his energy on his legal practice there is not the least doubt that he would have soon risen to the top of the ladder. It has been rightly said that he *had the ball at his feet* but he refused to kick it. "

authors who had inherited their knowledge through traditional instruction where similarity in phraseology is more natural, as we find from the serial study of the works of Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka and Vidyānanda, or Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti. We can quote illustrations some of which are noted by Dr. Pathak himself in another context.⁶ Dinnāga defined perception as 'कल्पनापोदम्', and *hetu* as 'ग्राह्यधर्मस्तदंशेन व्याप्तो हेतुः' while Dharmakīrti defined the same as 'कल्पनापोदमग्रान्तम्' and 'पक्षधर्मस्तदंशेन व्याप्तो हेतुः' respectively. It is not necessary to say how much these definitions agree. Similarly Bhartṛhari might have imitated some other authorities before him. It is very probable that he has followed an old verse which was slightly different in wording than the one found at present in his work and which appears to have been quoted in its earlier form by Prabhācandra in his --Mārtaṇḍa and by Vidyānanda in his Śloka-vārtika, and perhaps with that earlier version in view Haribhadra read his quotation, 'त च स्यात् प्रत्ययो लोके' etc. Prabhācandra quotes the following verse—

'न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिवाभाति सर्वं शब्दे प्रतिष्ठितम्' ॥

along with two others, with the introductory phrase *taduktaṃ* at one place in his Mārtaṇḍa, and it appears that they have been bodily taken from a work where they occurred in this consecutive order. But they are not found in that very order in Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. The third verse—

'अनादिनिधनं शब्दब्रह्मतत्त्वं यदक्षरं' etc.

is found with a slight variation in wording as the first verse of first Kāṇḍa of Vākyapadīya and the remaining two verses (the first with the variations noted above) are numbered as 124 and 125. This also substantiates the conjecture that Bhartṛhari has taken these verses from some other source. Besides, Bhartṛhari himself says that his work is of a compilatory nature—

'न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गोस्तानभ्यस्य स्वं च दर्शनं ।
प्रणीतो गुरुणाऽस्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः ॥ २-४८० ॥

He also implies that there was a bigger work before his time which fell into oblivion but a part of it was recovered by the sage Patañjali. The commentator Puṇyārāga remarks thus—

¹ Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XI, p. 157 etc.

‘एतेन संग्रहादुसारेण भगवता पतञ्जलिना संग्रहसंक्षेपश्रुतमेव प्रायशो भाष्यमुप-
निबद्धमित्युक्तं वेदितव्यम् ।’

and indicates that Patañjali's Mahā-bhāṣya is a summary of that old compilatory work that had fallen into oblivion. Bhartṛhari even goes to say, in the first Kāṇḍa of his work, that Grammar is always composed by eminent writers on the ground of old Smṛtis-

तस्मादकृतकं शास्त्रं स्मृतिं वा सनिबन्धनां ।

आश्रित्यारभ्यते शिष्टैः शब्दानामनुशासनम् ॥

Under such circumstances it is not at all impossible that the verse *na ca syāt pratyayo* etc. might have been drawn from some earlier source.

Suppose there is an author who flourished before Dharmakīrti: he had in view a statement of Dinnāga in the course of his attack - a statement which is similarly worded in the works of Dharmakīrti too. A later commentator who is unaware of that statement in the works of Dinnāga is likely to indicate that the original author is attacking the statement of Dharmakīrti with whose works he (i. e. the commentator) is more familiar. From this if the original author were to be placed later than Dharmakīrti, it would be a gross mistake and misrepresentation of chronological facts. Similarly if an earlier author than Bhartṛhari had attacked a statement whose prototype is found in Bhartṛhari's works also, we are not justified in dragging that old author later than Bhartṛhari.

Therefore in view of the facts discussed above we cannot be allowed historically and logically to place Samantabhadra later than Bhartṛhari.

(V) We fail to understand how it is clear from the passage quoted from Ekānta-khaṇḍana that Pūjyapāda lived prior to Samantabhadra. If the serial enumeration of fallacies (असिद्ध, विरुद्ध, etc.) attributed to Siddhasena, Devanandi and Samantabhadra was to be accepted as chronologically arranged, it would be a gross misrepresentation of the history of fallacies that are long in use in Naiyāyika literature. When the fallacies and their very names were current long before, the attribution of applying a particular fallacy to a particular author only shows that he was pre-eminent in applying that fallacy to refute certain middle

term (*hetu*) of the opponent. But that can never be a ground to arrange the authors chronologically. We can take, for instance, the following verse where some authors are mentioned with their typically special characteristics—

प्रमाणमकलङ्कस्य पूज्यपादस्य लक्षणं ।

धर्मजयकवेः कान्यं रत्नत्रयमकण्टकम् ॥

Can we infer from this mere enumeration that Akalaṅka lived earlier than Pūjyapāda ? Certainly not. Pūjyapāda flourished about 500 A.C. and Akalaṅka has used his Sarvārtha-siddhi in composing his own Rājavārtika. This enumerative order can hardly indicate their priority or posteriority in time. If Dr. Pathak infers from this order, then he will have to admit that Siddhasena flourished earlier than Pūjyapāda thus contradicting his own conclusion. Since, we find Siddhasena in his Nyāyāvatāra qualifies his definition of *pratyakṣa* with *a-bhrānta* and *grāhaka* (i. e. *nirṇāyaka*, *vyavasāyātma* and *sarvikalpaka*) and thus he has in view the definition of Dharmakīrti who, so far as we know, is the father of the phrase *a-bhrānta*. The commentator on Nyāyāvatāra remarks —

“ तेन यत्ताथागतैः प्रत्यपादि ‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोहमभ्रान्तमिति’ तदपास्तं भवति । ”

According to the first evidence Dr. Pathak will have to admit that Siddhasena is later than Dharmakīrti and we do not know how Dr. Pathak would explain the contradiction to which he is led by saying that Siddhasena was earlier than Pūjyapāda who lived some two hundred years before Dharmakīrti.

Neither from the extract nor from the history of fallacies, nor from the order of enumeration of the authors can it be proved that Samantabhadra is later than Pūjyapāda. The only possible ground for such an inference remains — but it is not clear from Dr. Pathak's words¹— that since Lakṣmīdhara the pupil of Samantabhadra mentions the name of Pūjyapāda the former can be taken as later than Pūjyapāda or even both Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda can be taken as contemporaries. But it must be remembered that this would be a valid inference only after it is definitely proved

¹ Dr. Pathak says: “ from the passages cited above from the *Ekānta-Khaṇḍana*, it is clear that Pūjyapāda lived prior to Samantabhadra. ”

that Lakṣmidhara is the direct disciple of Samantabhadra. The point is not clear from the extracts from Ekānta-Khaṇḍana given by Dr. Pathak in his article, and naturally I was led to inspect the Ms. of Ekānta-khaṇḍana which, as Dr. Pathak tells us in a footnote, is preserved in a palm-leaf Ms. (in old Kanarese characters) belonging to Lakṣmisenā Maṭha, Kolhapur. I am very thankful to Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, through whose kind and good offices I could get a true copy of that Ms. which is compared with the original by the professor personally.

I find it to be an incomplete Ms.; for some reason or the other it has not been complete, and hence there is no *prāśasti* etc. at the end of the work. Unfortunately the work is not divided into *sāṃdhis* at the end of which, in the colophons, we could expect the author to mention his or his Guru's name etc. Nor any where we get an explicit reference to the author's being a *direct* disciple of Samantabhadra. I found from the Ms. that Dr. Pathak has not been cautious enough in giving the excerpts. Between the two verses quoted by Dr. Pathak with the introductory phrase *taduktam* or to be more explicit after the verse *asiddham* etc. there runs the following prose passage--

‘तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः नित्यायेकान्तवादविवादप्रथमखण्डनरचना-
डम्बरो लक्ष्मीधरो धीरः पुनरसिध्यादिषट्कमाह’— ।

After this the subject matter of the book begins. The second verse *nityādyekānta* etc. does not come just after *asiddha* etc. but it comes after the *maṅgalācaraṇa* i. e. *Jinadevaṃ* etc. The verse *nityādyekānta* etc. belongs to the author, and Dr. Pathak has committed a mistake in indicating it, along with the verse *asiddham* as *taduktam*. After the verse *nityādyekānta* etc. comes the following verse —

तौ द्वौ ब्रूते वरेण्यः पटुतरचिषणः श्रीसमन्तादिभद्रः ।

तच्छिष्यो लक्ष्मणस्तु प्रथितनयपथो वक्तव्यसिध्यादिषट्कम् ॥

And then follows a prose passage of which only the conclud-

ing portion is quoted by Dr. Pathak as it is clear from the foot-note here. ¹

This is the condition of the work as we find it. The author's name is Lakṣmīdhara or Lakṣmaṇa both being taken as synonyms. It appears that Dr. Pathak is led to believe that Lakṣmīdhara is the direct disciple of Samantabhadra from the two phrases --

‘तच्छिष्यः and तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः’ !

But it is a plain mistake to consider Lakṣmīdhara as the direct disciple of Samantabhadra as the above two phrases follow after mentioning the views of three authors belonging to different periods, and as such he should be taken as the *paramparā-śiṣya* (i. e. *upadeśya*) of these three authors. That he is a traditional pupil is clear from the passage --

‘ तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः ’

which comes after a quotation ending with *iti*. The phrase तच्छिष्यः should be explained not as ‘तस्य समन्तभद्रस्य शिष्यः’ but as ‘तथा सिद्धसेनादीनां शिष्यः’. And *ārādhana* is possible in the case of a traditional pupil i. e. *paramparā-śiṣya* by the study of their works. *Caraṇārādhana* does not always mean the service of their physical

¹ To make the whole matter clear, we give below the opening portion of the Ms., so that the readers might see for themselves how the whole situation is misunderstood and misrepresented by Dr. Pathak.

जिनं देवं जगद्गुरुं दयाधर्मविभूषणं ।

प्रणामि प्रणताशेषजनतानन्दमन्दिरम् ॥

नित्यद्योक्तान्तहेतोरुधननिमाहितः सिद्धसेनो ह्यसिद्धं ।

भूते श्रीदिग्भन्दी विदितजिनमतः सन्निरोधं व्यनक्ति ॥

नौ द्वौ भूते वरेण्यः पटुतरविषणः श्रीसमन्तादिभद्रः ।

तच्छिष्यो लक्ष्मणस्तु प्रथितनयपथो वक्तव्यसिद्ध्यादिषट्कम् ॥

नित्याद्योक्तान्तसाधनानामङ्गुरादिकं सकर्तृकं कार्यत्वाद् यत्कार्यं तत्सकर्तृकं यथा घटः । कार्यं च उद्धं तस्मात्सकर्तृकमैवेत्यादीनामनेकान्तलक्ष्मीविलासावासाः सिद्धसेनार्याः असिद्धिं प्रत्यपादयन् । षड्दर्शनग्रहम्य-
संवेदनसंपादितनिस्सीमपाण्डित्यमाण्डिताः पूज्यपादस्वामिनस्तु विरोधं साधयन्ति स्म । सकलतार्किकचूडा-
माणमरीचिमेचकितचरणानखमयूखा भगवन्तः श्रीस्वामिसमन्तभद्राचार्या असिद्धिबिरोधावब्रुवन्-
तदुक्तं--

असिद्धं सिद्धसेनस्य विरुद्धं देवनान्दिनः ।

द्वयं समन्तभद्रस्य सर्वथेकान्तसाधनमिति ॥

तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः नित्याद्योक्तान्तसाधनाराधितविषादप्रथमध्वनस्वरूपचण्डवचनरचनाद्वयो-
लक्ष्मीधरो धीरः पुनरसिद्ध्यादिषट्कम्- etc.

feet but *carana* = *pāda* = sentence = their works; therefore the phrase may be taken as the study of their works. There are many such illustrations where one author considers himself to be the disciple of another who flourished many centuries before him. This refers to *paramparā-śiṣyatva* and not direct discipleship. We quote below the concluding verse of Nītisāra where Indranandi calls himself a *śiṣya* of Kundaḥunda who flourished more than a thousand years before him --

—सः श्रीमानिन्द्रनन्दी जगति विजयतां सूरि भावानुभावी ।

दैवज्ञः कुन्दकुन्दप्रभुपदत्रिनयः स्वागमाचारचञ्चुः ॥¹

Similarly the passage from Ekānta-khaṇḍana shows that he was a *paramparā-śiṣya* and not a direct disciple of Samantabhadra. Further the verse *asiddhaḥ* etc. is only a popular verse of an author who flourished long before Lakṣmaṇa who is merely voicing the popular view by quoting that verse wherein the opinions of three famous authors are mentioned. This famous verse is found in Siddhiviniścaya-ṭīkā and Nyāya-viniścaya-vivarāṇa in the following form --

असिद्धः सिद्धसेनस्य विरुद्धो देवनन्दिनः ।

द्वेषा समन्तभद्रस्य हेतुरेकान्तसाधने ॥

In the Nyāya-viniścaya-vivarāṇa Vādirāja quotes it with the phrase *taduktam* and Anantavīrya, who is the pre-eminent commentator on the works of Akalaṅka and who is held in high respect by all the later commentators like Prabhācandra and Vādirāja, gives this verse in Siddhiviniścaya-ṭīkā twice: once in the fifth *prastāva* as --

‘यद्वक्ष्यसिद्धः सिद्धसेनस्य’

and again in the sixth *prastāva* where the complete verse is given and explained word by word. Thus it is clear that this verse comes from Akalaṅka's Siddhiviniścaya, sixth chapter known as *hetu-lakṣṇa-siddhi*. Therefore Lakṣmīdhara is later than Akalaṅka. In fact he is later than Vidyānanda who has severely dealt with Kumārila's attack on the Aṣṭasatī of Akalaṅka, in his Śloka-vārtika and other works, since in this Ekānta-khaṇḍana he quotes Vidyānanda thus --

¹ Manikachanda Granthamālā Vol. XIII, p. 69.

तथा चोक्तं विद्यानन्दस्वामिभिः—

‘ सति धर्मविशेषे हि तीर्थकृत्यसमाह्वये ।
ब्रूयाज्जिनेश्वरो मार्गे न ज्ञानादेश केवलम् ’ ॥

This is the 15th verse of Vidyānanda's Āpta-parīkṣā which is composed by him after the completion of his Tattvārtha-Śloka-vārtika and Aṣṭasahasrī.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to accept Lakṣmīdhara as the direct disciple of Samantabhadra; nor there is any other external evidence to that effect. Of the direct disciples of Samantabhadra we know two names only viz. Śivakoti and Śivāyana.¹ From the explicit reference to Vidyānanda it is plain that Lakṣmīdhara flourished many centuries after Samantabhadra. When Lakṣmīdhara is not the direct disciple of Samantabhadra, the conclusion, based on the reference to Pūjyapāda etc., that Samantabhadra is later than Pūjyapāda loses its value. It would be a sheer breach of historical judgement to make Lakṣmīdhara a direct disciple of Samantabhadra when he quotes Vidyānanda who flourished long after Samantabhadra.

I wish to indicate here that Pūjyapāda is considered to be later than Samantabhadra in the available Jaina Literature. Leaving aside the *paṭṭāvalis* i.e. the traditional lists of teachers, the epigraphic evidences too point to the same thing. In Śravaṇa Belgola Inscriptions, for instance No. 40 (64), same information about Samantabhadra is given; then the word *tataḥ* is used and then follows the information about Pūjyapāda beginning with the famous verse, *yo Devanandīḥ* etc. In another inscription also No. 108 (258) Pūjyapāda is introduced with the phrase *tataḥ* after Samantabhadra. The use of *tataḥ* indicates that Pūjyapāda is later than Samantabhadra. Further Pūjyapāda, in his Sanskrit grammar, has the following sūtra mentioning the name of Samantabhadra —

चतुष्टय समन्तभद्रस्य । ५-४-१६८

In the face of this sūtra one cannot put Samantabhadra later than Pūjyapāda and when Dr. Pathak found it to be a difficulty

1. See स्वामी समन्तभद्र (इतिहास) p. 95. by the present writer published by Jaina Grantha Ratnakara Karyalaya, Hirabaga, Bombay, 4.

in the way of his conclusion he pronounced his judgement, without any substantial evidence, that the sūtra is an interpolation merely to escape through the difficulty. It is a mere conjecture of his, and his only support is that this sūtra is not present in the Śākatāyana Vyākaraṇa. Its presence in the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and the absence of the same in the Śākatāyana-Vyākaraṇa where many sūtras have been taken from the former led him to treat this sūtra as spurious. But it is an illogical conclusion. 'Many' does not mean 'all', nor is there any compulsion on Śākatāyana to copy all the sūtras of Jainendra, nor would it be valid to say that every sūtra that has not been copied by Śākatāyana is spurious. We can quote a parallel instance. Pūjyapāda in his Jainendra Vyākaraṇa copies many sūtras from Pāṇini but he has not taken that sūtra of Pāṇini where one Śākatāyana is referred to. Does it mean then, that particular sūtra is an interpolation in Pāṇini's work? Certainly not. Neither from the sūtras given by Dr. Pathak nor from other sūtras can it be proved that Jaina Śākatāyana completely follows Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. In portions he is independent and sometimes follows other grammarians like Pāṇini. Dr. Pathak says that the sūtra- 'जराया ङसिन्हायाचि' । १-२-३७. of Jaina Śākatāyana is entirely based on Pāṇini's sūtra 'जराया जरसन्त्यतरस्याम्' । ७-२-१०१. Further he goes to the extent of remarking, "The mention of Indra in one of the above sūtras of Jaina Śākatāyana has misled some scholars into the belief that Indra was a real grammarian." ¹ Under these circumstances we are not ready to accept the illogical conclusions of Dr. Pathak that all such sūtras are interpolations namely, those sūtras of Jainendra which have not been copied by Jaina Śākatāyana, those sūtras, though copied, in which the proper names have been replaced by *vā* and those sūtras of Śākatāyana mentioning some proper names but in whose place *vā* had been used in Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. To prove all these sūtras to be interpolations some stronger evidence was necessary, but it has not been produced by Dr. Pathak.

When it is not proved that Lakṣmīdhara was the disciple of Samantabhadra, and that from his enumeration, Pūjyapāda was

¹ This remark of Dr. Pathak is not in any way cogent, since we learn from such an old work as Laṅkāvatārasūtra that Indra was the author of a Śabda-śāstra— 'इन्द्रोऽपि महामते अनेकशास्त्रविद्वज्जुष्टिः स्वशब्दशास्त्रप्रणेता' — पृ. १७४.

prior to Samantabhadra, there is no necessity of suspecting the genuineness of that sūtra. The interpolatory character of that sūtra is merely a conjecture of Dr. Pathak to lend support to his biased interpretation of the passage from Ekānta-khaṇḍana, and to create a favourable atmosphere for his biased conclusion he calls all (?) those sūtras mentioning proper names as spurious. We do not know why he has not stamped the sūtra - 'कृद्विदुर्जां यशोमद्रस्य' २-१-८८ as an interpolation.

(VI) The sixth evidence is hardly to the point. We have seen that Lakṣmīdhara is not the direct disciple of Samantabhadra and that he quotes Vidyānanda who has criticised Kumārila. So by his reference to Kumārila we cannot arrive at the conclusion that Kumārila and Samantabhadra were contemporaries or Samantabhadra flourished a little earlier than Kumārila.

(VII) It is an evidence of a general character where Dr. Pathak indicates the periods of different authors. We have already shown that his evidences, to prove that Samantabhadra has attacked Dharmakīrti and Bhartṛhari and that he had a direct disciple in Lakṣmīdhara, were too weak and worthless. We are not ready to accept that Pātrakesari and Vidyānanda were identical, that Prabhācandra and Vidyānanda were the junior contemporaries of Akalaṅka and that Akalaṅka flourished in the latter half of the eighth century, since all these conclusions belong to the category of 'unproven.' In the following discussion it would be made clear that Pātrakesari is not the other name of Vidyānanda, that he was different from Vidyānanda the author of Tattvārtha-slokavārtika, that Pātrakesari, Vidyānanda and Prabhācandra were neither the pupils nor the contemporaries of Akalaṅka, that Pātrakesari flourished even before Akalaṅka and that Akalaṅka belonged to the first half of the seventh century.

P. S. I feel very sorry to pen this post-script. Dr. Pathak is no more amongst us. His sad demise has undoubtedly created a gap in the rank of Orientalists. Though the time has come now to revise many of his conclusions, the spade-work in connection with Jaina literary chronology, which he could do in those days when the study of Jaina literature was in its infancy, was really of a pioneer character. He died before this paper could be published; if he had lived, I am sure, he would have certainly explained his position with regard to the Date of Samantabhadra in the light of my arguments and fresh facts in this paper,

THE ĀDIBHARATA AND THE NĀṬYASARVASVA-DĪPIKĀ

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I

Quotations from the *Ādibharata* (ĀBh.) in addition to those from the *Bharata* in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on *Śakuntalā* naturally raised an expectation towards an addition to our knowledge of the early history of the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra (NŚ.) ascribed to Bharatamuni. In fact we imagined that the ĀBh. mentioned by Rāghavabhaṭṭa, (R.) was a version of the NŚ. earlier than the extant one which probably was identical with his *Bharata*. With this idea we started an examination of the quotations of R. in their relation to the NŚ. And the following result followed (see *Indian Historical Quarterly*. 1930 pp. 75f).

Out of 19 quotations from the ĀBh. (a) 12 were traceable in the NŚ, and (b) 3 had their parallels in it, while (c) 4 had no trace in it. And out of 9 quotations from the *Bharata* (a) 7 are traceable in the NŚ., while (b) 2 have their parallels in it.

In the above examination we depended too much on the Kāvya-mālā (K.) text and were under the impression that no more quotation from the ĀBh. will be traced in the NŚ. But after an independent study of the Chowkhambā (Ch.) text which was found to represent a different recension we discovered later on one more ĀBh. quotation¹ occurring in it. Besides this on a closer examination of R.'s commentary of the *Śakuntalā* we discovered in it 2 more quotations from the ĀBh. and 5 more from the *Bharata*. Both the ĀBh. quotations and 4 of the *Bharata* quotations were traceable in the NŚ.

Thus the previously found relation of the ĀBh. and the *Bharata* with the NŚ. stands altered as follows:

¹ This is No. 3 of the ĀBh. quotations shown previously as not traceable in the NŚ. see I. H. Q. 1930 p. 79. This and other quotations of R. discovered later are given in the Appendix.

- I. Out of 21 quotations from the ĀBh.
 - (a) 15 are traceable in the NS. and
 - (b) 3 have their parallels in it, while
 - (c) 3 have no trace there at all.
- II. Out of the 14 quotations from the *Bharata*
 - (a) 11 are traceable¹ in the NS. and
 - (b) 3 have their parallels in it.

The fact that out of 21 quotations from the ĀBh. as many as 15 are traceable in the NS. gives a great weight to the view of Dr. S. K. De who suggested that by ĀBh. Raghāvabhaṭṭa meant Bharata the reputed author of the NS. (see *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 24). Quotations which are not traceable in the NS. as well as those which have their parallels in it can be explained by the generally accepted theory that this work has been very badly handed down and some omissions as well as emendations in it might have sometimes been made. The non-appearance of some of the quotations may as well be due to mistake on the part of R. as well as his successive generations of scribes. But Dr. De's reasons for indentifying the ĀBh. with Bharata are however as follows: The *bharata* in later times came to mean dramatic art, and works like *Nandibharata* and *Mataṅgabharata* etc. meant 'the dramatic art by authors like Nandi and Mataṅga' who were posterior to Bharata. It was in contradictions to these later *bharatas* that Bharata the so-called author of the NS. was called the *Ādibharata*.²

¹ One of such quotations was traceable only in the K. text of the NS. and the Ch. text gives the substance of it in a different language. *Vide*, I. H. Q. 1930 p. 80.

² In this matter we slightly differ from Dr. S. K. De, and like to suggest the semantic development of the word *bharata* in the following lines. Once *bharata* meant *naṭa*; and a treatise on his art was then called the *Bharata-śāstra* (In the contents of Skandha I. of the *Nāṭyasarvasvaḍipikā* the expression 'Bharataśāstra' occurs twice). This 'Bharataśāstra' was however referred sometimes simply as *Bharata* (cf. *Ādibharataśāstre* and *ādibharate* mentioned indiscriminately in several colophons of the *Nāṭyasarvasvaḍipikā*; *vide*, Mr. D. R. Mankad on *Ādibharata* in *Annals of the BORI*, Vol. XIII pp. 174-175). In *Nandikeśvara's Abhinayadarpaṇa* too 'bharata' in the sense of *Bharata-śāstra* occurs). And the 'bharata' denoting the *śāstra* as time passed on gave rise to a myth which wrongly imputed the early *śāstra* to a fictitious Bharatamuni. This has been discussed in full in my article in *J. H. Q.* (1930 pp. 72 ff.).

The argument on which Dr. De based his assumption is a very cogent one. That *bharūta* once meant the dramatic art or rather a treatise on the same is pretty sure. For besides the name Nandi and Maṭaṅga *bharatas* we have come across the name of the *Bālarāmabharata* by Bālarāma Kulāśekhara of Travancore. This is a work on the Bharataśātra and treats music, *tāla* and *abhinaya* (vide, The Triennial Catalogue of Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, Vol. III, p. 3801). But in spite of this there may arise the following difficulties in finally accepting Dr. De's suggestion.

(1) If the ĀBh. and *Bharata* were identical why should R. in his 21 citations have named the former and in 14 citations referred to the latter (*Eharata*) by which he surely meant the present day NŚ. ? Before explaining this, what appears to be a strange procedure on the part of R., we cannot by any means resist the possibility of the existence of the ĀBh. as an earlier version of NŚ. This possibility, we are afraid, has not been barred by the argument of Mr. P. K. Gode whose examination of the Mysore Ms. (of the so-called *Ādibharata*) throws otherwise an unexpected light on the problem of the ĀBh. (Annals BORI, Vol. XIII, p. 93). Apart from the question whether the ĀBh. as an *earlier recension of the NŚ*, actually existed or not the argument of Mr. Gode denying the possibility of the existence of the ĀBh. as a work on the dramatic art does not seem to be very convincing. Indeed he has examined one Ms. which proved to have been wrongly named. But it will be claiming too much on the basis of such a discovery that no separate work on, with this title ever existed. Even modern makers of Ms. catalogues are some times found to commit mistakes in giving titles of the Mss. For example, Mss. Nos. 3028 and 3090 of the India Office Library have been wrongly labelled as the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandikeśvara, but in spite of this mistake the work of this name exists.¹ We cannot say that some previous owner of the Mysore Ms. has not misnamed it in a similar fashion by putting down on it the name of a work already existing. Thus the wrong naming gives strong grounds

¹ For details see pages xviii-xix of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* edited by present writer (The work has been published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series).

of presumption in favour of the separate existence of a work named ĀBh.

In addition to the above difficulty we find in the paper on *Adibharata*¹ by Mr. D. R. Mankad the description of a fragmentary Ms. which in its colophon has the name ĀBh. mentioned more than once and contains moreover one of R.'s quotation from the ĀBh. not traceable in the NŚ.

These are the difficulties which we confront in accepting the view that by the ĀBh. Rāghavabhatta meant the NŚ. But on a careful consideration of two facts which due to their separate mention may be looked upon as rather unimportant, the difficulties may yet vanish (*vide ante* footnotes 1 and 2).

The first of the facts referred to above is that one of R.'s ĀBh. quotations occurs *only* in the Ch. text of the NŚ. and the other is that one of his Bharata quotations is found in the K. text of the NŚ. while the Ch. text gives the substance of it in a different language. These two quotations should be studied in relation to all of R.'s similar quotations traceable in the NŚ. and their position in the latter. For the purpose of such a study any one version of the NŚ. may do and we shall use here Ch. text.

The following is a tabular view of R.'s quotations from the ĀBh. and the *Bharata* traceable in the Ch. text of the NŚ. Numerals within brackets indicate quotations from the *Bharata* while those without brackets indicate the ĀBh. quotations. Roman numerals indicate the chapters of the NŚ. and Arabic ones the ślokas.

I.	(57).
V.	(106-107, 107-111), 163-164.
VII.	79.
XVIII.	29-30, 34-35, (49).
XIX.	(11, 17, 19, 26, 26).
XX.	14, 16-17, 47.
XXI.	(3), 10, 11, 13, 24, 32, 41, 83, 106-107.

From the study of the above table we find that (1) all of R.'s quotations occurring in the chapter XIX. of the NŚ. are attributed

¹ I am glad to offer here my thanks to Mr. Mankad who has very kindly drawn my attention to his paper by sending me a reprint of the same.

to the *Bharata*; (2) Only one of R.'s quotations occurs in the chapter I and that from the *Bharata*, and (3) only one quotation occurs in the chapter VII and that is from the *ĀBh.*, and (4) R.'s nine quotations from the *ĀBh.* occur in the chapter XXI while one from the *Bharata* occurs as the third verse in the chapter, and (5) the quotations appearing in the Ch. XX, are all ascribed to the *ĀBh.* (6) Quotations in the name of Bharata as well as *ĀBh.* occur in chapters V, XVIII and XXI.

Now all these facts as well as the two quotations referred to above cannot be explained unless we are allowed to assume that R. used two fragmentary Mss. of the *NS.* belonging to two different recensions. As one of his quotations from the *ĀBh.* appears only in the Ch. text of the *NS.* representing the longer recension we may conclude that R. drew these quotations from a Ms. of the *NS.* belonging to the longer recension. This Ms., quite like the Mysore Ms. examined by Mr. Gode, was probably known to R. as the *Adibharata*. As for the quotation from the *Bharata* which appears in identical language only in the K. text of the *NS.* we may believe that R.'s source of *Bharata* quotations was a Ms. of the *NS.* belonging to the shorter recension.

The difficulty about the colophons of the *Nāṭyasarasvadīpikā* now remains. We shall see below that this difficulty is not insuperable, and we may finally accept the suggestion of Dr. S. K. De as very sound.

Appendix to I.

N. B. Please read this together with the Appendix of the article dealing with the *ĀBh.* in *IHQ.* of 1930 (pp. 77ff.)

A.—R's Quotations from the *ĀBh.*

I.—Traceable in the *NS.*

(p. 114) ¹ काक्षिभिः काव्यकुशलेः रसभावमपेक्ष्य तु ।

सर्वाङ्गानि कदाचित्तु द्वित्रिहीनानि वा पुनः ॥

व्युत्क्रमेणापि कार्याणि ... (XXI. 106-107)

(p. 168) नियतां तु फलप्राप्तिं यदा भावेन पश्यति ।

नियतां तां फलप्राप्तिं सद्यः (?)परिचक्षते ॥ (XXI. 13)

¹ Pages cited before the quotations are those of the *Nirṇayasūgarā* ed. of the *Śakuntalā* with R.'s commentary. The references to the *NS.* are from the Ch. ed.

B.—R.'s Quotations from the *Bharata*.

I.—Traceable in the NS̄.

- (p. 16) आयुष्मन्निति वाच्यस्तु रथी सूतेन सबदा (XIX. 11)
 (p. 21) राजन्नितृषिभिर्वाच्यः (XIX. 17)
 (p. 25) नायिकानां सखीनां च सौरसेनी प्रकीर्तिताः (XVIII. 49)
 (p. 229) देवानमपि ये देवा महात्मानो महर्षयः ।
 भगवन्निति ते वाच्या यास्तेषां योषितस्तथा ॥ (XXI. 3)

II.—Not traceable in the NS̄.

- (p. 182) मागधी राक्षसादेः स्यात्

II.

The Ms. No. 41 (of 1916-18) of the Government Ms. library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was originally entered in the catalogue as the *Bharataśāstra-granthaḥ*.¹ But after a closer examination of the Ms. the name was corrected as the *Nāṭya-sarvasvadīpikā*. In an article named *Ādibharata* by Mr. D. R. Mankad there is among other things a discussion on the several colophons of its different sections where the expression *Ādibharata* occurs. Mr. Mankad thinks on the following grounds that folios 1-33 (nearly half the Ms.) contain the ĀBh.

- (1) The word ĀBh. in the colophon.
- (2) The running style of the NS̄. exhibited in these folios.
- (3) The occurrence of the *sabhālakṣaṇa* mentioned by R. as having been taken from the ĀBh.

Mr. Mankad has himself admitted the weakness of the first ground, and the second one also is not strong. Thus only the third or seemingly strongest ground should be discussed.

Since the present writer in his '*Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra*' (IHQ, 1930, pp. 72ff) pointed out that the *sabhālakṣaṇa* of the ĀBh. had a parallel in the NS̄, he has traced a substantial part of this passage occurring in almost the same language in the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (VII. 1343-1344). For reasons to be given below he is now convinced that the passage in question might have been taken by R. from the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* and might through mistake have been fathered on the ĀBh. The assumption of an oversight of

¹ I take this opportunity of expressing here my grateful thanks to my teacher Prof. S. K. Chatterji at whose kind intercession the authorities of the Calcutta University made this Ms. available for my use.

similar nature on the part of R. as we have seen before may solve the problem of several ĀBh. and *Bharata* quotations of the famous commentator. Thus we may think that folios 1-33 of the Ms. does not contain any work named the ĀBh.

This Ms., as Mr. Mankad has conjectured, contains fragments of different works. A portion of the chapter XXVI of the NŚ. (Ch. ed.) occurs in folios 46-50 and the so-called double copy of folios 12-14 probably represent the fragment of a different work on *tāla*. The name given in the margin of these folios as the *Nāṭyasarvasva* is clearly *by a different and later hand* and so are the page marks which suppress some original figures. But apart from the fragment of the NŚ. and the fragmentary work on *tāla* the Ms. contains a work named *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* or its fragments put together in absolute disregard of any order. Mr. Mankad is inclined to believe that this *Dīpikā* is a commentary of a work named *Nāṭyasarvasva*. But such a view seems to have been expressed on a very inadequate ground. The colophon of the table of contents of the work ends as follows : *asya granthasya nāma Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* and in its several other colophons at the end of different sections we do not at all meet with any statement that the work was named the *Nāṭyasarvasva*. We do not know any commentator who has been negligent enough to omit the name of his basic work in his colophons.

The style of the work (*Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*) has been considered as an indication of its being a commentary. With this we cannot agree. For such a style is often met with in works like the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. The name ending in 'dīpikā' does not necessarily make the work a commentarial one. This word, like *darpaṇa* in the name of the two above mentioned works, may mean nothing more than a 'manual'.

Thus we may take it as an original work (i. e. not a commentary) named the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*. But the word *Ādibharata* appearing in the colophon may be said to create a difficulty. On the strength of this one may take the work as the *Ādibharata*, and we have observed before that it naturally raises an expectation about some old version of the NŚ. But on an examination of the Ms. we found this to be a very modern work

later than the *Samgitaratnākara* (circa, 1230 A. C.) which is mentioned twice in it (f. 34 b line 7 and f. 36a line 4) and as such it cannot be any early version of the NŚ. Another and an equally great difficulty about its being taken as an early version of the NŚ. or any version at all of this work is that it treats (*vide* its contents in ff. 1-5) 32 *rāgas* while the NŚ. does not know any *rāga* at all. The division of the work in *skandhas* looks rather queer and may be taken along with the above facts as a sign of the novel origin of the work.

Now it may be asked if the work did not at all have the expected relationship with the NŚ. why should its author use the word 'Ādibharata' in his colophons. We are not in a position to know exactly the motive of the author but he may have dragged in the ĀBh. in the following manner. As we have seen before that in his colophon to the contents he expressly states that the name of the works is the *Nāṭyasarvasva-dīpikā*, but precedes this statement by *etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram*. This does not mean that the name of the work was the ĀBh. The subject discussed in the work is here mentioned. (It should be noted that the word 'ādi' occurring in the above statements is clearly by a different hand). But it is quite possible that the author of the *Nāṭyasarvasva* by using expressions like *ādibharate* and *ādibharataśāstre* merely claimed that his work is in the lines of the first Bharata though we have seen that in one way at least this claim is not quite valid. But some deviation from the old tradition at a later time is quite possible and in spite of this difference the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* may represent the other aspects of the traditions recorded in the early NŚ. But as the former Ms. of the work is extremely fragmentary we have no means of properly comparing it with the NŚ.

ETHICO-RELIGIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS OF MANKIND AS EMBODIED IN THE JAINA CANON

BY

PROF. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

The problem of studying mankind is complicated ; so various methods have been adopted to solve it. One of them is that of scientific classification - an art well-known to India from hoary antiquity. Consequently it is no wonder, if the *Jainas* in ancient times possessed a remarkable mastery therein. As a corroborative evidence may be pointed out plenty of *bhaṅgas* or permutations and combinations one comes across, in the *Jaina* philosophy. The attitude of the *Jainas* in systematically grouping the different entities may very well account for the various sorts of classifications of human beings¹ expounded in the *Jaina* canonical literature. As the main object of this article is to throw some light on this subject, I shall begin with a classification having an ethical tinge about it.

Sādhu and Asādhu -

In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. 13. v. 1 and 4²) humanity in its entirety is divided into two classes : (1) *sādhu* or the virtuous and (2) *asādhu* or the wicked, the natural divisions of mankind one can expect and approve of. Each of these can be further divided into two groups :- (a) happy and (b) unhappy. This means that we have four types of human beings on the surface of this globe : (i) virtuous and happy, (ii) virtuous but unhappy, (iii) wicked but happy and (iv) wicked and unhappy. The origin of these types is satisfactorily explained by the four kinds of *karmans*, technically known as (1) *puṇyānubandhi - puṇya*³, (2) *puṇyā-*

¹ Even the minimum and maximum numbers of human beings existing at any time are pointed out in *Anuyogadvārasūtra* (sūtra 142). This topic is discussed by me in the paper communicated to the Jubilee Sessions of the Indian Mathematical Society held in December 1932.

² For the English translation of these two verses see S. B. E. vol. XLV, p. 320.

³ Merit-engendering merit. It is a kind of merit, which makes the individual lead a holy life, while he or she, at the same time, enjoys happiness as a result of the merit acquired in a previous birth or births.

nubandhi-pāpa, (3) *pāpānubandhi-puṇya* and (4) *pāpānubandhi-pāpa*.¹

Before proceeding further it will not be amiss to take a note of the fact that Jainism divides all the unliberated living beings into two classes: (1) those who are incompetent to attain liberation and (2) those who are competent to do so. The former class is designated as *abhavya*, and the latter as *bhavya*. The *bhavyas* are subdivided into two categories: (1) those who are sure to be liberated in near or distant future, and (2) the *jāti-bhavyas* or those who will never be liberated, since they will never get the right opportunity of utilizing their potency for achieving salvation.

Arya and Mleccha—

If we refer to *Prajñāpanāsūtra*² (I, 37) of Śyāmācārya we find mankind divided into two classes viz. (a) *āriya* or the *Āryas*³ and (b) *milikkhu*⁴ or the *Mlecchas*.⁵ Vācakanukhya Umāsvatī, too, has mentioned these classes, in his *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*⁶ (III, 15) and has also indicated their various varieties, in the *svopajñā*⁷ bhāṣya (pp. 265-266). But he has not classified the *Āryas* under two heads viz. (a) *Ṛddhi-prāpta* and *Ṛddhi-aprāpta* or *Anṛddhi-prāpta*. These groups are however pointed out in *Prajñāpanāsūtra* (ch. I.) where the former group is further divided into six classes viz. (1) *Tīrthaṅkara*,

¹ This line of argument, if properly followed, solves the question viz. "why do the innocent suffer?"

² This is looked upon as the second *upāṅga* and is divided into 36 chapters known as *pādas* with their subdivisions styled as *sūtras*.

^{3, 5} These have been explained in the commentary as under by Malayagiri Sūri:—

“आराद् हेयधर्मेभ्यो याताः—प्राप्ता उपदेयधर्मेतिर्याः, पृषोदरादयः” इति रूपनिष्पत्तिः, म्लेच्छा अव्यक्तभाषासमाचाराः, “लेच्छ अव्यक्तायां वाचि” इति वचनात्, भाषाग्रहणं चोपलक्षणं, तेन शिष्टाऽसंमतसकलव्यवहारा म्लेच्छा इति प्रतिपत्तव्यम्।”

⁴ This word (*milikkhu*) occurs in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. I. 2. v. 15-16).

⁶ Out of a number of commentaries written on it (vide pp. 16-18 of my *Sanskrit Introduction* to pt. I), I shall point out a few where the word *Ārya* has been defined. They are: (1) *Sarvārthasiddhi* (Kolhapur, ed. p. 130), *Siddhasena Gaṇi's* *ṭīkā* (p. 265) and (3) *Tattvārthasālokaśārtika* (p. 356).

⁷ I have expressed my reasons of considering the *bhāṣya* as *svopajñā*, in my introduction (pt. II, p. 36ff.). So it will be a matter of great pleasure, if any scholar will examine them and give his sober verdict.

(2) *Cakravartin*, (3) *Baladeva*, (4) *Vāsudeva*, (5) *Cārana* and (6) *Vidyādhara*, and the latter into nine known as (a) *kṣetra-ārya*, (b) *jāti-ārya*, (c) *kula-ārya*, (d) *karma-ārya*, (e) *śilpa¹-ārya*, (f) *bhāṣā-ārya*, (g) *jñāna-ārya*, (h) *darśana-ārya* and (i) *cāritra-ārya*.² Umāsvāti has mentioned only six varieties³ of the *Āryas* in his bhāṣya (p. 265). They correspond to the first six classes of *Anṛddhi-prāpta Āryas*. *Sarvārthasiddhi* strikes altogether a different note, since it mentions 7 types of the *Īddhi-prāpta Āryas* and 5 types of the *Anṛddhi-prāpta Āryas*.⁴

In the case of the *Mlecchas*, the number of the varieties does not seem to be fixed ; for, in *Prajñāpanāsūtra* (I, 37) we have about 55 types mentioned. These⁵ with some variations in their number and names are found in *Nemicandra Sūri's Pravacana-sāroddhāra* (274th dvāra, v. 1583-85)⁶.

Umāsvāti does not give such a list ; but, after pointing out on p. 266 “ अतो विपरीता म्लिः ” mentions the 56⁷ *antaradvīpas*, the residents of which come under the category of the *Mlecchas*.

As this topic is, I believe, sufficiently discussed, I shall now take up another which is more or less a special tenet of Jainism.

Mithyātvin and Samyaktvin-

From the *Jaina* view-point human beings and other animate objects as well are either *mithyātvin* or *samyaktvin*, according as they have right or wrong conception about the characteristics of *deva*, *guru* and *dharma*. *Mithyātva* is of two types: (a) *anabhiṅgṛhīta* and (b)

¹ In *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, we come across *sippasaya*. The names of the five main śilpas are given in *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* (v. 207). Each is there referred to as having 20 sub-divisions ; but I have not succeeded up till now in tracing their names etc. The 18 śreṇis have been however discussed by me in my edition of *Padmānanda Mahākāvya* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LVIII, pp. 362, 592-593).

² For an explanation in English the reader is referred to G. O. S. No. LI, pp. 392-393.

³ These have been elucidated by him in the bhāṣya (p. 265).

⁴ “अनुद्धिप्रमाणाः पञ्चविधाः— क्षेत्रायां जात्यायां कर्मायांश्चारित्र्यायां दर्शनार्थाश्चेति । ऋद्धिप्रमाणाः सप्तविधाः, बुद्धि-विक्रिया-तपो-बलौ-वधि-रसा-ऽक्षिणभेदात् । ”

⁵ For the Sanskrit names, the reader is referred to G. O. S. No. LI, pp. 393-394.

⁶ *Prasnavyākaraṇa* and *Āvaśyakasūtra* may be consulted in this connection ; they, too, refer to the *anārya deśas*.

⁷ According to *Sarvārthasiddhi* (pp. 130-131) the number is 96.

abhiḡṛhīta. The former is due to ignorance, prejudice or prepossession, while the latter is mainly due to deliberate misunderstanding or perversion of facts. A student of Jainism needs hardly to be reminded of the 363 types¹ of the *Abhiḡṛhīta-mithyātva*s, the sum-total of 180 kinds of the *Kriyāvādins*, 84 of the *Akriyāvādins*, 67 of the *Ajñānavādins* and 32 of the *Vinayavādins*.² The names of the important persons connected with these schools are mentioned by Siddhasena in his commentary to Tattvārtha (VIII, 1). A rough attempt has been made by me to identify them,³ with a view that some erudite scholar may be inclined to take up this topic for a thorough investigation.

It may be remarked that *samyaktva* and *abhiḡṛhīta-mithyātva*, too, are not within the reach of each and every human being. They are as it were the sole properties of the *Saṅgnis* or those whose mind is fairly developed. Thus the human beings known as *Asaṅgnis* and having practically no brain are under the influence of *anabhiḡṛhīta mithyātva*. They are the persons, who, in virtue of their manner of being born, are debarred from possessing *samyaktva*. To elucidate this point, it may be mentioned that Jainism admits of three types of birth⁴ viz. (1) sammūrchana,⁵ (2) garbha and (3) upapāta. Out of them only the first two types are possible for the human beings.⁶ So they can be classified as (a) garbhaja and (b) sammurchanaja. The latter are said to be born in 14 dirty things such as excreta, urine etc., and their life-span never exceeds 48 minutes.

It may be observed that in the case of a human being, it is the *gotra-karman* which determines the family where one can be born.

¹ These have been discussed at some length in "Schools and sects in Jain literature" (pp. 29-37) by Amulyachandra Sen M. A., B. L.

² For sources of information see my introduction to Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra (pt. II, p. 54).

³ Ibid. pp. 55-63.

⁴ Birth as well as its varieties have been beautifully explained in Sanskrit by Siddhasena Gaṇi. See pt. I, pp. 189-190. This subject has been briefly treated in English in G. O. S. (No. LI, p. 21).

⁵ This is translated as "generatio acquivoca" in S. B. E. (vol. XLV, p. 224).

⁶ See Uttarādhyayanāsūtra (ch. xxxvi, v. 194).

This *karman* is of two kinds : (a) high and (b) low.¹ On this basis, human beings are divided in Jainism into two classes : (i) born in a high family and (ii) born in a low family.

In this connection it may be stated that the *Jainas* consider the *Kṣatriyas* as the best class of men ; for, they assign to them even a higher place than what is generally assigned to the *Brāhmaṇas*. This will be clear, if one were to refer to *Kalpasūtra* where several *ucca* and *nica kulas* are mentioned.²

From this it can be safely inferred that Jainism draws a line of demarcation between the high and the low families. But, thereby it does not permit a person born in a high family to be puffed up with pride and despise those born in a low family. For, such an attitude is deprecated in unequivocal terms in the *Jaina Āgamas*, e. g. in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. 13; 10, 11, 15, 16). As an illustration, it will suffice to refer to the incident in the life of the *Marīci*, who, by praising his family to the skies, amalgamated the *nīcagotra-karman*.³

Jaina saints and low families :—

It may be added *en passant* that a *Jaina* saint is not debarred from accepting alms even from a low family. This is borne out by *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* (xii, 15) and *Daśavaikālikāsūtra* (V. i. 14; V. 2. 25; VIII. 23). As an additional proof it may be stated that in the 16th *adhyayana* of *Jñātādharma-kathāṅga*, *Dharmaruci*, pupil of *Dharmaghoṣa*, is referred to as going to all families high, low and middle, for alms. In *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, the 7th *aṅga*, we find a similar fact noted in the case of *Indrabhūti Gautama*, the first disciple of Lord *Mahāvira*. This will show that Jainism lays stress upon the purity of alms and not upon the status of an individual from whom alms is to be accepted.

¹ See *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* (xxiii, 14). There each of these types of *gotra-karman* is pointed out as having eight varieties. *Bhāva-vijaya* observes in his commentary to this work that these are due to the causes of bondage connected with pride pertaining to *jāti*, *kula* etc. See the *bhāṣya* of *Tattvārtha* (ix, 6).

² For the English translation see S. B. E. (vol. xxii, p. 225).

³ For details see *Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacaritra* (I. 5. v. 370ff) or G. O. S. (No. LI, pp. 352-353).

Furthermore, that a birth in a low family is not by itself a stumbling block for spiritual evolution is a clear verdict of Jainism, a fact on which the 12th and the 13th adhyayanas of Uttarādhyayanasūtra throw flood of light. For, therein we distinctly notice the spiritual rise of Harikeśa-bala and Caitra, in spite of their birth in a family of *Śvapākas* (*Cāṇḍāla*). Even an *Antyaja* is fully respected in Jainism, if adorned with a *vidyā* (lore). This will be clear by studying the narrative of king *Śreṇika* who made an *Antyaja* sit on his royal throne,¹ while learning the *vidyā* from him.

From this it can be easily deduced that Jainism cares more for the merits of an individual than his or her birth in a high-class family.

No place for varṇāśrama in Jainism—

Out of the four *varṇas* popularly known as (1) Brāhmaṇa, (2) Kṣatriya, (3) Vaiśya and (4) Śūdra, we find in the earlier portion of the Rgveda the first three under the appellations *Brahma*, *Kṣatra* and *Viś*. It is rather in the subsequent *puruṣa-sūkta* where *Śūdra* is mentioned along with *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājanya* and *Vaiśya*. In Sūtrakṛtāṅga (II. 6. 48) we come across the words *Mūhana*, *Khattiya*, *Vesa* and *Pesa*.

This, by no means, implies that Jainism sanctions the water-tight compartments generally accepted by the so-called *Sanātānists*. This is clearly borne out in the following verse of Uttarādhyayanasūtra (XXV) :—

“ कम्मुणा बंभणो होइ कम्मुणा होइ खत्तिओ ।

वइसो कम्मुणा होइ सुहो हवइ कम्मुणा ॥ ३३ ॥ ”

¹ This will suggest that there is no room for untouchability in Jainism. This fact is beautifully stated by Malayagiri Sūri, while commenting upon Nandīsūtra (p. 172) as under :—

“ यद्यपि चोक्तं ‘चाण्डालस्पर्शदोषः प्राप्नोतीति, तदपि चेतनाविकलपुरुषभाषितमिवास्मीचीनं, स्पर्शस्पर्शव्यवस्थाया लोके काल्पनिकत्वात् । तथाहि स्पर्शव्यवस्था न पारमार्थिकी । ”

He has practically expressed the same opinion in his commentary (p. 28) to Āvaśyakasūtra. In this connection it may be noted that the *jāti-jungitas* such as Mātāṅga, Kokila, Baruda, Śūcika, and Chimpa and others are considered as *asprśya* by Siddhasena Sūri in his commentary (p. 230) to Pravacanasāroddhāra (v. 791.) The author of Nisīthacūṇi, too, seems to hold the same opinion.

IL this very canon (XXV, 19-29, 31-32.) we find the word *Māhana* used in the sense of *Bambhāṇa*. From the characteristics of *Māhana* mentioned there,¹ we learn that a person is so called, in case he leads a very very high standard of life.² Even Lord Mahāvīra is himself so addressed in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. ii. 1), since *Māhana* is considered as an honorific title. Cf. *Vajrasūcikopaniṣad*.

Thus it will be seen that Jainism does not endorse the view taken by the so-called *Sanātānists* regarding the four *varṇas*; consequently it does not reserve the highest stage³ of life viz. *saṁnyāsa* (*dikṣā*) for a special class like that of the *Brāhmaṇas*; but it considers persons of backward and even depressed classes eligible for it, thus keeping the entrance to final emancipation open for any and every *mumukṣu*⁴ of any class whatsoever.

There is however a restriction regarding some of the human beings; for, 18 types of them are considered unfit for *dikṣā*. See *Pravacanasāroddhāra* (v. 790-791).

Six types of human beings:—

According to Jainism all mundane living beings can be classified under four heads: (1) human beings, (2) the celestial

¹ See also ch. xii, v. 14.

² In *Kalpasūtra*, we notice the word *Māhana*, used rather in a deteriorated sense; for, there, it implies a family unfit to be blessed with the birth of a *Tirthaṅkara*, a *Cakravartin*, a *Baladeva* or a *Vāsudeva*. From this it may be inferred that by the time of Bhadrabāhusvāmin, the *Māhanas* had lost their original position and reputation, probably because they had given up the high ideals. Perhaps this is the reason why the word *Dhijjāia*, an *apabhraṣṭa* form of *Dvijātika*, according to P. Bechardas is explained as *Dhig-jātiya*, in the commentary to *Āvaśyakasūtra*.

³ Vidyāranya observes in *Jīvanmuktiviveka* (ch. V) :—

“ शुद्धस्यापि संन्यासेऽधिकारः, वैराग्यस्याविशेषत्वात् । ”

⁴ In Jainism, there is no hard and fast rule that an aspirant for liberation should successively pass through all the four stages of life, viz. (1) *brahmacharya*, (2) *gṛahasthya*, (3) *vānaprastha* and (4) *saṁnyāsa*. For, the *Jainas* are chiefly divided into two orders: (1) the *Agṛins* (house-holders) or practically *deśavirata* and (2) the *Anagṛa* (those who have renounced the world) or *sarvavirata*. See *Tattvārtha* (VII, 14) and *Aupapātikasūtra* (s. 57 p. 55). Nevertheless, we can divide even the life of a *Jaina* into four stages, if we were to look upon the stage of a *Jaina* house-holder practising *padīmās* or a *Siddhaputra* as *vānaprastha*.

(*devas*), (3) the hellish (*nāraḥas*) and (4) the *tiryacs* .¹ It may be noted that it is only the birth as a human being, which, when properly utilized leads to liberation. Thus, though the acquisition of birth as a human being is an essential preliminary to the attainment of final emancipation, yet it alone is not a sufficient means to reach the final goal. So it is only those persons who actually fully adopt the right means of achieving salvation become entirely free from the worldly fetters and from the encagement of body. Hence, from the point of view of the life spent mankind can be variously classified. On this basis Umāsvāti has suggested six broad classes viz. (1) *adhamādhama*, (2) *adhama*, (3) *vimadhyama*, (4) *madhyama*, (5) *uttama* and (6) *uttamottama*.

These classifications are due to the four types of *karmans* viz. (1) *akuśalānubandha* or *ahiṭa*, (2) *kuśalākuśalānubandha* or *hitāhiṭa*, (3) *kuśalānubandha* or *hiṭa* and (4) *niranubandha*. The first three sorts of human beings perform the first kind of *karman*; and the rest, the remaining ones in order. This subject is treated by Umāsvāti in his *Sambandhakārikas* (v. 4-6) to *Tattvārtha*, and they are elucidated by Siddhasena Gaṇi in his splendid commentary (pp. 6-8) to this excellent work. To put it in a 'nut-shell, one who commits an atrocious deed and hence ruins his present life and the future one, too, is *adhamādhama*. One who cares for the present life and is completely indifferent to the future is *adhama*. One who spends his time in realizing sensual happiness for this life and hereafter is *vimadhyama*. One who cares for future life only is *madhyama*. One who leads a virtuous life with the unadulterated motive of attaining final beatitude is *uttama*. One who after having cultivated the highest and purest type of religious mentality and having translated it into action delivers noble and ennobling sermons, though *krta-kṛtya*, is *uttamottama*.

Six Categories for mundane living beings—

Jainism divides all the mundane living beings according to

¹ Under this head are included all those mundane living beings that do not come under any one of the first three heads. To express the idea positively beasts, birds, the vegetable and the mineral kingdom etc. go by [the name of *tiryac*].

their *leśyā*¹ or so to say their mentality. In all, there are six *leśyas* and hence all the animate objects in general and human beings² in special, give rise to six categories.

Fourteen Groups—

According to the Jaina philosophy the ladder leading to liberation consists of 14 steps known as *guṇasthānas*.³ A living being may be at either of these steps according to the extent of his or her or its spiritual evolution. The human beings are in no way, an exception, to this rule. This will suggest that there are 14 groups under which mankind can be classified.

One who is conversant with this branch of the Jaina philosophy will easily see that broadly speaking, human beings can be divided into two classes, too. For, all those who are at any one of the first three *guṇasthānas* are 'non-Jainas and the rest, Jainas. It is only on reaching the fourth step that one ceases to be a non-Jaina and becomes a Jaina⁴. The arrival at the 5th step is no doubt a step nearer to salvation; but the real spiritual progress commences after reaching the sixth step. This as well as the remaining 8 steps are within the reach of saintly characters only.⁵

¹ I intend to write an article in English in this connection chiefly based upon my work *Ārhatadarśanadīpikā*, where this subject is treated in Gujarātī on pp. 350-363. In the meanwhile, I may point out some of the Prakrit, Sanskrit and English sources dealing with it as under :—

Uttarādhyayanāsūtra (xxxiv) and its English translation by H. Jacobi along with a foot-note on p. 196 (S. B. E. vol. xlv), Prajñāpanāsūtra (xvii), Lokaprakāśa (III. v. 92-97), Gommatasāra (v. 488-555), Outlines of Jainism (pp. 45-47), etc.

² Of course those who are *ayogikevalins* have no *leśyā* whatsoever. They are the holy persons on the point of attaining *mukṭi* and bidding a good-bye to *saṃsāra* or metempsychosis.

³ For the discussion of this subject in English, the reader is referred to G. O. S. No. LI (pp. 429-439).

⁴ Before one can attain the status of a Jaina, he or she should have 35 *mārgānusāri-guṇas* or the qualities leading to the path of Jainism.

⁵ The mere *veśa* of a Jaina saint counts for nothing. Such an individual is denounced as a hypocrite. It may be added that the absence of any external Jaina characteristics is not necessarily a disqualification for the attainment of salvation, in case that individual is really imbued with the true spirit of saintliness.

That is to say, Jaina lay-men are on the 4th or the 5th step and saints, on any step beginning with the sixth and ending with the 14th.

It is also possible to form two groups of human beings viz. (1) the *chadmastha* and the *vītarāga*, in case these two words are interpreted etymologically.

Classifications according to varieties in structure, stature etc.

The mundane beings or the unliberated possess one of six kinds of *saṁhanana*¹ or osseous structure. On this basis human beings can be divided into six groups.

Saṁsthāna or the figure of the body can be considered as another basis to divide mankind into six groups, since there are six types of *saṁsthāna*.²

Jambūdvīpa, the eastern and western halves of Dhātakīdvīpa, and those of Puṣkarārdhadvīpa as well, together with the antardvīpas are the six places where a human being can be born. So, from this stand-point, too, mankind forms six different groups.

According to Jainism, in Bharata and Airāvata *kṣetras* the twelve-spoked wheel of time is the basis of the law of time. In other words time is divided into *avasarpinī* and *utsarpinī*, each of which has six spokes. From this view-point, too, human beings can be divided into six kinds according as they are affected by the type of the spoke, out of six.

All human beings have not necessarily the same sort of *kar-mans*. Hence this may also serve as a basis of grouping them. But this is not the place to do so. Consequently only the four types of human beings are here referred to : (1) *puruṣavedin*, (2) *strī-vedin*, (3) *napuṁsakavedin* and (4) *avedin*. Here *veda* signifies carnal desire.

Some groups⁵ of humanity:—

In the 15th *adhyayana* of Jñātādharma-kathāṅga, we come across certain classes of human beings e. g. Caraka, Cīrika, Car-makhaṇḍika, Bhicchunda, Paṇḍuraṅga, Gautama,³ Govratin,⁴

^{1,2} The English explanation of these two technical words is given in G. O. S. No. LI (pp. 405-406), and in "Outlines of Jainism" (p. 34); but it seems to be rather inconsistent, at least from the Śvetāmbara point of view.

^{3,4} These two types of human beings are described at some length in Aupapātikasūtra and its Sanskrit commentary.

⁵ From the standpoint of the type of the *yoni* (nucleous) human beings are divided into 14 laos of groups.

Gṛhīdharmīn, Dharmacintaka, Aviruddha, Viruddha, Vṛddha, Śrāvaka, Vṛddha Śrāvaka and Raktapāṭa.

Now a few words about the various classifications of the Jainas only. As already observed they can be divided into two classes viz. (1) the *upāsakas* and (2) the *śramaṇas*, each of whom has two subdivisions, if we were to distinguish females from males. These four varieties well-known as (1) the *śrāvaka* (2) the *śrāvika*, (3) the *sūdhū* and (4) the *sūdhavī* make up a *tīrtha* established by a *Tīrthanāka*. This *tīrtha* is also known as *saṅgha* or the Jaina church, and even each of its four branches goes by the same name (*saṅgha*).

The *Śramaṇas* can be divided into four groups: (1) the *Tīrthanāka*, (2) the *Ācārya*, (3) the *Upādhyāya* and (4) the *Sūdhū*. Moreover, the *Śramaṇas* can be classified as (1) *Putāka*, (2) *Bakuśa*, (3) *Kuśīla*,¹ (4) *Nirgrantha* and (5) *Śnātaka*.²

The *Śramaṇas* can be also divided according to the *gaccha* or its sub-section they belong to. It may be remarked that it is generally the difference in rituals which distinguishes one *gaccha* from another. So, to lay undue stress upon such differences will be tantamount to disfiguring the magnificent edifice of liberalism in Jainism.

The Jainas can be also divided according to the type of their *nirjarā* or the act of shedding off of *karmans*. This basis leads us to form 10 groups,³ indicated in *Tattvārtha* (ix, 47).

The 63 Śālākā-puruṣas, 11 Rudras, 9 Nāradas, 7 Kulkaras and others are some of the special groups referred to, in Jainism. They have nothing to do with castes and sub-castes amongst which the Jaina community is at present divided; for, the origin of these castes etc., is not religious but probably it is a matter of convenience of the Jaina society. It may be added that these castes are not a barrier for taking part in a common-dinner like *Navakārśī*, having a religious tint of *sādharmika vātsalya*. Even

¹ For the five types of this group see the bhāṣya (p. 208) of *Tattvārtha* (ix, 6).

² In this connection the reader may consult *Tattvārtha* (ix, 48), its bhāṣya and its commentary by Siddhasena Gaṇi. Even *Bhagavatsūtra* (xxv, 6) may be referred to.

³ From the stand point of *vaigūṛtya* (service), too, we have 10 groups. For details see *Tattvārtha* (ix, 24) and its elucidative literature.

the question of inter-marriage amongst the Jainas does not depend upon castes ; for, Yākinimahattarāsūnu Haribhadra Sūri observes in Dharmabindu as under :—

“ समानकुलशीलादिभिरगोत्रजैर्ववाह्यम्, अन्यत्र बहुविरुद्धेभ्य इति ”

Four types of Jain Saints :—

In the seventh adhyayana of Jñātādharmakathāṅga, the 6th *aṅga*, we come across four varieties of *Jaina* saints : (1) those who discard the five holy vows (*mahāvratas*) after they have taken the same, (2) those who observe the five *mahāvratas* only for the sake of livelihood and who remain unduly attached to food etc., which they get from laymen in virtue of their outward get-up of a saint, (3) those who observe the five *mahāvratas* as enjoined by the scriptures after they have renounced the world and (4) those who not only observe the vows only in spirit but even continue practising them very rigidly.

The eleventh chapter of this 6th *aṅga*, too, furnishes us with another sort of the four types of *Jaina* saints. It is the presence or absence of forbearance in part or in toto, which gives rise to these four types. To express it explicitly, there are some saints who do not lose their temper, when offended by their correligious but do so, in case they come in contact with the heterodox. There are some saints whose conduct is just the reverse of this. There is another class of saints who get provoked, no matter whether the individual concerned is a *Jaina* or a non-*Jaina*. There is still another class of saints, who, under no circumstances become angry and who maintain the spirit of forbearance in speech and thought as well.

Out of these four types, the first includes those saints who are partially *virūdhaka* i. e. those who do not partly confirm to the sermon of Lord Mahāvira. The second includes those who are partly *virūdhaka* i. e. those who partially observe the rules laid down by Lord Mahāvira. The third has within its fold those saints who are entirely *virūdhaka*. The fourth or the last consists of the group of such saints who are completely *virūdhaka*.

Thus, an attempt is here made by me to point out from the *Jaina* view-point different groups of humanity which can be formed on various grounds, with the hope that scholars well-versed in non-*Jaina* schools of thought will throw ample light on this subject from a comparative point of view.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XIX

DATE OF CĀRITRAVARDHANA, COMMENTATOR OF
KUMĀRASAMBHAVA AND OTHER KĀVYAS --
BETWEEN A. D. 1172 AND 1385.

Cāritravardhana (called also Vidyādhara or Sāhityavidyādhara, son of Rāmacandra Bhiṣaj) is the author of commentaries on (1) the *Kumārasambhava*, (2) the *Naiṣadhīya*, (3) the *Raghuvamśa* (4) the *Rāghavapūṇḍarīya* and (5) the *Śiśupālavadha*.¹

Mr. S. P. Pandit in his edition of the *Raghuvamśa*² gives a detailed list of references to earlier works and authors found in Cāritravardhana's commentaries on the *Raghuvamśa*.

My own casual reading of a Ms. of Cāritravardhana's commentaries on the *Kumārasambhava* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 244 of 1880-81) shows the following references to earlier works and authors :--

दंडिन् (fol. 1); काव्यप्रकाश (fol. 1); अमर (fols. 2, 5, 8, 10, 25, 28, 37, 40, 60); अभिधानचिंतामणि (fols. 3, 4, 47); हेमकोष (fols. 9, 10, 50, 57); बल्लभभट्ट (fol. 11); मनुः or मनुस्मृतिः (fol. 15); भगवद्गीता (fol. 15); विश्वः (fols. 17, 28); वैजयंती (fol. 21); उद्योतिःशास्त्र (fol. 30); भट्टिप्रयोगः (fol. 41); दुर्घटद्वान्तिः (fol. 61).

A further reading of a Ms. of Cāritravardhana's commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 53 of 1873-74) gives us among others, references to the following previous works and authors :--

अमर (fol. 8, 34, 35, 39, 49, 54); अभिधानचिंतामणि (fol. 8, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 26, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48, 105, 112); वैजयंती (fol. 24,

¹ Aufrecht: *Catalogus Catalogorum*, part, 1, p. 186.

² *Raghuvamśa* (1872), Appendix III.

47, 51, 53, 54, 77, 122, 148); जिनेन्द्रकृतन्यासः (fol. 26); ज्योतिःशास्त्र (fol. 32); हेमः (39, 50, 55, 57, 62, 64, 66, 69, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80, 83, 85, 101, 171, 172, 174); हेमाचार्याः (fol. 259); हेमकोश (fol. 43, 108); हलायुधः (fol. 49, 77, 142, 152); शाकटायन (fol. 122); तारणकवेः उक्तिः (fol. 123); भट्टीकाव्य (fol. 128); भारवि (fol. 306) .

Cāritravardhana refers to the following works and authors in his commentary on the *Meghadūta* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 345 of 1895-98) :—

अमर (fol. 5, 6, 9, 14 etc.); हलायुधः (fols. 6, 21, 27); अभिधानचिंतामणि (fols. 6, 10, 11, 16, 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39, 40, 45, 48, 55, 59, 63, 67); यादवः (fol. 8, 11, 23, 24, 26, 32, 39, 43, 44, 54, 62); चांद्रशेखरानुशासन (fol. 22); केशवः (नानार्थार्णवसंक्षेप) fol. 44 ; दंड्यलंकार (fol. 49); रामायण (fol. 65) .

In the above list of references from Cāritravardhana's commentaries collected by me the reference to दुर्घटवृत्ति is important as it gives us one terminus to Cāritravardhana's date. In Mr. S. P. Pandit's list of references, made by Cāritravardhana to earlier works in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* there is no reference to *Durghatāvṛtti*. So far as my search goes Cāritravardhana makes use of the दुर्घटवृत्ति only once in his commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 244 of 1880-81) on the fol. 61 as under :—

“ विधीति । अनेन यथागच्छतेति स्वयं मार्गस्य दर्शकः सोऽत्रिः विधिना प्रयुक्तः कृतः सत्कारः पूजा येषां ते तैः शुद्धकर्मभिः निर्मलक्रियैः तैः मुनिभिः शुद्धांतमंतःपुरं आक्रमयामास अत्राक्रमिखट्टेस्तेवद्वर्तते । अन्यथा क्रमेर्गत्यर्थत्वाद्वतिबुद्धीत्यादिना कर्मत्वं स्यात् इति दुर्घटवृत्तिः ”

I have been able to identify the above reference in a printed edition of the *Durghatāvṛtti*¹ where it appears as follows :—

“ अथ कथं

‘ विधिप्रयुक्तसत्कारैः स्वयं मार्गस्य दर्शकः ।

स तैराक्रमयामास शुद्धान्तं शुद्धकर्मभिः ॥ ’

इति कुमारः आक्रमणस्य गुणभूतगत्यर्थत्वात् । उच्यते । ‘ विधिप्रयुक्तसत्कारान् शुद्धान्तं शुद्धकर्मणः ’ इति द्वितीयान्तपाठः कर्तव्यः । अथ वा ‘ ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्र ति गुणभूतगत्यर्थेन कचिदेव कर्मत्वम् ॥ ”

¹ *Durghatāvṛtti* of Saranadeva, edited by T. Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. VI, 1909) p. 27.

The above identification makes it clear that Cāritravardhana composed his commentary on the Kumārasambhava at least a few generations, if not more, after the composition of the *Durghaṭavṛtti*. We know that Śaraṇadeva composed the Durghaṭavṛtti in A. D. 1172¹ which must therefore, be looked upon as one terminus to the date of Cāritravardhana.

Another terminus to the date of Cāritravardhana may be furnished by the statement of Mr. Nandargikar that Dinakara's commentary on the Raghuvamśa is simply an epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary on the same Kāvya.² Dinakara gives his own date,³ which is A. D. 1385. If the statement of Mr. Nandargikar is correct, we can take A. D. 1385 as another terminus to Cāritravardhana's date. We may, therefore conclude on the basis of the foregoing evidence that *Cāritravardhana lived between A. D. 1172 and 1385.*

XX

ANTIQUITY OF A FEW SPURIOUS VERSES FOUND IN SOME MSS OF THE MEGHADŪTA OF KĀLIDĀSA

(1) Dr. K. B. Pathak in his edition of the *Meghadūta*⁴ quotes nine verses which he treats as spurious. This number does not include the following verse which I have found in some Mss of the poem in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The verse⁵ reads as follows in the different Mss mentioned below :—

(i) *Ms No. 388 of 1884-87* — Meghadūta with ṭippaṇa dated samvat 1517 (= A. D. 1461) — last verse :—

¹ *Durghaṭavṛtti* (Tri. Sans. Series No VI-1909), Preface, p. 2.

² *Raghuvamśa* (edited by G. R. Nandargikar, 1897) Introduction, p. 17.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

⁴ *Meghadūta*, Poona, 1916 (Appendix I) pp. 69-70.

⁵ This verse also occurs in a Ms of *Meghadūta* with the commentary *Meghalatū* (B. O. R. I. No. 160 of 1882-83) but the commentary does not comment this verse — which may indicate that the Meghalatū commentary is older than this verse.

“ इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमिदं मेघदूताभिधानं ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने विप्रयुक्ते विनोदि ॥
 मेघस्यास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावः कवीनां ।
 न त्वार्यायाश्चरणयुगलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२५ ॥ ”

(ii) *Ms No. 390 of 1884-87* — Meghadūta with commentary Sukhabodhikā dated Samvat 1641 (= A. D. 1585) — last verse :—

“ इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने दुःखयुक्ते विनोदः ॥
 मेघश्चास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावं कवीनां ।
 न त्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२७ ॥ ”

(this verse is also commented on by the author of Sukhabodhikā, showing thereby that it was in existence before 1585 A. D.).

(iii) *Ms No. 344 of 1895-98* — Meghadūta with commentary of Laksmīnīvāsa, dated Samvat 1713 (= A. D. 1657) — last verse :—

“(इत्थं)भूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने विप्रयोगे विनोदः ॥
 मेघश्चास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावे कवी(नां) ।
 (नत्वा)र्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२६ ॥ ”

(The portions bracketed in this verse are lost owing to the last folio being damaged).

(iv) *Ms No. 343 of 1885-98* — Text with commentary (name of the commentator not mentioned) dated Samvat 1749 (= A. D. 1693) — last verse :—

“ पाठांतरं । इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने विप्रयोगेविनोदः ।
 मेघश्चास्मिन्नतिनिपुणताबुद्धिभावी कवीनां ।
 नत्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२७ ॥ ”

(v) *Ms. No. 347 of 1895-98* — Text with a few marginal notes; dated Samvat 1856 (= A. D. 1800) — last verse :—

“ इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडा विरहितजना विप्रयोगे विनोदः ॥
 मेघश्चास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावी कवीनां ।
 न त्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२१ ॥ ”

It will be seen from these five dated Mss referred to above that the verse in question was in existence in A. D. 1461 and hence could be repeated in the subsequent copies dated A. D. 1585, 1657, and 1693 and 1800.

As the verse in question was in existence in A. D. 1461, it is possible that Lakṣminivāsa who wrote his commentary on the Meghadūta in A. D. 1458¹ (see Ms No. 344 of 1895-98 above) may have known it but did not comment on it as he may have looked upon it as spurious. Ms No. 344 of 1895-98 contains this verse without the comment of Lakṣminivāsa on the same. Another Ms No. 159 of 1882-83 (dated Samvat 1759 = A. D. 1703) omits this verse altogether. The author of the commentary *Sukhabodhikā* (Ms No. 390 of 1884-87) dated 1585 A. D. mentions this verse and comments on it, presumably thinking that it was not spurious.

(2) We further find the following verses in the list of spurious verses given by Dr. Pathak :—

H — “ तं संदेशं जलधरवरो दिव्यवाचा चचक्षे ।
 प्राणास्तस्या जनहितरतो रक्षितुं यक्षबध्वाः ।
 प्राप्योदंतं प्रमुदितमनाः सापि तस्थौ स्वभर्तुः ।
 केषां न स्यादभिमतफला प्रार्थना ह्युत्तमेडु ॥

I — श्रुत्वा वार्ता जलदकथितां तां धनेशोऽपि सद्यः ।
 शापस्यान्तं सद्यद्ददयः संविधायास्तकोपः ॥
 संयोज्येतौ बिगलितशुची दंपती द्वष्टचित्तौ ।
 भागानिष्टानाद्विरतमुखं भोजयामास शम्भु ॥ ”

It will be seen from Dr. Pathak's Synoptical table (p. XXVII of his Introduction) that these two verses are *not found* in the *Pārśvābhyudaya* of Jinasena, in Mallinātha's commentary and in Vallabha's commentary. They are found in the commentaries of *Sarasvatītīrtha*, in the *Sāroddhārīṇī* and in the commentaries of *Mahimasiṃhagaṇī* and *Sumativijaya*. The chronological order of these works is as under according to Dr. Pathak :—

1. *Sāroddhārīṇī* — Before Samvat 1617 (= A. D. 1561).
2. *Sarasvatītīrtha* — Before Samvat 1854 (= A. D. 1798).
3. *Sumativijaya* — About Samvat 1690 (= A. D. 1634).
4. *Mahimasiṃhagaṇī* — Samvat 1693 (= A. D. 1637).

The above chronological order shows that these verses were in existence before A. J. 1561 according to Dr. Pathak's evidence.

I find, however, that these verses were known to Cāritra-vardhana, the celebrated commentator on the Meghadūta, Raghu-

¹ Aufrecht : Catalogus Catalogorum, pt. I, p. 539.

various etc. In the B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 345 of 1895-98 of his commentary on the *Maghadūta* these verses appear as under :—

“ तत्संदेशं जलधरवरो दिव्यवाचा ववक्षे
 प्राणास्तस्या विनिभूतरवो रक्षितुं यक्षबध्वाः
 प्राप्योदंतं प्रमुदितमना सापि तस्थौ स्वभर्तुः
 केषां न स्यादभिमतफला प्रार्थना ह्युत्तमेषु
 { पक्षेणैव प्रकथितपथो मूलतोलुक्रमेण
 { गत्वा दृष्ट्या धनपतिपुरीं तां च वातायनस्थां ॥ ११६ ॥ ”
 “ श्रुत्वा वार्त्ता जलदकथितां तां धनेशोपि सद्यः ।
 शापस्यांतं सद्यहृदयः संविदायास्तकोपः ॥
 संयोज्यते विगलितशुचौ दंपती तुष्टचित्तौ ।
 भोगानिष्ठानविरतमुखं भोजयामास शश्वत् ॥ ११८ ॥ ”

(The two lines marked by a bracket appear to be a later interpolation as *Cāritravardhana*'s commentary explains only the first four lines ending with the word “ उत्तमेषु ”).

It will be seen from the above evidence that these two spurious verses viz. H and I of Dr. Pathak's list were known to *Cāritravardhana* and that he commented on it. I have shown elsewhere (vide Note XIX above) that *Cāritravardhana* flourished between A. D. 1172 and 1385. This would justify my conclusion that verses H and I were known before A. D. 1385 or in general I may say that they are as old as *Cāritravardhana*'s time.

XXI

A COMMENTARY ON THE *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA*
 CALLED *ŚABDĀMṚTA* BY KĀYASTHA GOPĀLA
 (SON OF BALABHADRA) AND ITS PROBABLE DATE—

Middle of the 15th Century

Aufrecht records only one Ms.¹ of a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava*, called *Śabūmṛta* by Gopāladāsa viz. “ Peters. 4,25 ” which is identical with a Ms. No. 678 of 1886-92 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The Ms. of this commentary is incomplete, consisting of cantos I and II and about

¹ *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pt. ii, 22.

66 verses of canto III. The author appears to be a learned pandit as will be seen from the following works and authors referred to by him :—

सारस्वतव्याकरण (fol. 2); सारस्वत (fol. 39); माधवनिदान (fol. 2); अमर (fol. 2, 3, etc.); अमरसिंह (fol. 4); इडिद (fol. 5); संगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 4, 11); भरतसंगीत (fol. 4); कोषः (fol. 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 25, 28, 32, 34, 36); विश्वकोषः (fol. 6); विश्वः (fol. 7, 9, 15, 20, 21, 31, 33, 36); अजयकोषः (fol. 6); यादवकोषः (fol. 35); ब्रह्मांडपुराण (fol. 7); मनुः (fol. 7, 18); हलायुधः (fol. 9, 12, 21, 30); अभिधानरत्नाकर (fol. 9); क्षीरस्वामीटीका (fol. 10); क्षीरस्वामीवचन (fol. 17); कालापञ्चाकरण (fol. 10) प्रक्रियाकौमुदी (fol. 10); काव्यप्रकाश (fol. 11); आचार्य (fol. 12); निघंट (fol. 16); सरस्वतीतीर्थ (fol. 22, 24); केशव (fol. 24); गीतावचन (fol. 25) मेदिनीकरः (fol. 29); विश्वलोचनः (fol. 31); योगसार (fol. 35).

Some of the references in the above list will enable us to locate the probable date of Gopāladāsa's commentary. He appears to have lived at a time when Pāṇini's grammar was not much in vogue. References to Sārasvata Grammar (fols. 2, 39), Kālāpa (or Kātantra) Grammar (fol. 10) and to the Prakriyā Kaumudī (fol. 10) make this point clear. The Sārasvata school of grammar continued its vigorous existence from about 1250 A. D. down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita¹ and his pupils. As Bhaṭṭoji lived about A.D. 1630² we may fix A. D. 1630 as the later terminus to the date of Gopāladāsa. The earlier terminus is found in the reference to the *Prakriyā-Kaumudī* (fol. 10) which is assigned by Mr. K. P. Trivedi³ to the latter half of the 14th century⁴ (i.e. between A. D. 1350 and 1400). As Gopāladāsa quotes⁵ from the *Prakriyā Kaumudī* we can safely presume that he must have lived a few generations after the composition of the *Prakriyā Kaumudī* i.e. about the middle of the 15th century, a period which harmonizes also with the reference to *Medinikara* (fols. 29, 37) in the present commentary. This lexicon has been assigned to the 14th century.⁵ In Rāyamukuta's commentary on the *Amarakośa* there are many quotations from *Medinika-*

¹ Belvalkar ; *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 92.

² Ibid, p. 47.

³ *Prakriyā Kaumudī*, B. S. S. No. LXXVIII, Intro. p XLIV.

⁴ B. O. R. I. Ms No. 678 of 1886-92—fol. 10—

“ व्यवस्थालक्षणं च । स्वामिधेयपेक्षोऽवधिनियमो व्यवस्थेति ” —प्रक्रियाकौमुदी

⁵ Keith ; *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 414.

ra's lexicon.¹ The date of Rāyamukūṭa's commentary is A.D.1431. Hence the lexicon of Medinikara must have been composed before A. D. 1431. Our inference therefore that Gopāladāsa, who quotes from a lexicon composed before A. D. 1431 must have written his commentary on the Kumārasambhava, say between A. D. 1440 and 1460 or in the middle of the 15th century, appears to be fairly correct.

Other authors and works referred to by Gopāladāsa being earlier in point of date than the *Prakriyā Kaumudī* and the *Medinikara* are not of any use for chronological purpose with the exception of the references to the *Samgītaratnākara* (fols. 4, 11) which furnish a sure terminus viz. A. D. 1247² for the date of Gopāladāsa.

Another work ascribed to our Gopāladāsa is *Karaṭīkautuka*, a Ms of which has been recorded by Weber.³ This work is a treatise on the diseases of elephants in verse form.

Gopāladāsa informs us in the preamble⁴ to the commentary on the Kumārasambhava that he wrote this commentary under the supervision of " सम्यक्तीर्थ " and by the order of " नामतीर्थ. " I am, however, unable to identify these persons for want of more particulars. One नामतीर्थ is credited with the work उपदेशसहस्रक्रतु-व्याख्या on Vedānta in Aufrecht's Catalogue⁵ and two Ms of this work are recorded by Oppert.⁶ The name सम्यक्तीर्थ, however, is nowhere mentioned in Aufrecht's Catalogue.

¹ G. R. Nandargikar : Preface to the *Raghuvaṃśa*, 1897, p. 3.

² *Encyclopedie de la Musique*, Part 1, p. 271, a.

³ *Catalogue of Mss in the Berlin Library* (1853) Part I, p. 292.

⁴ B. O. R. I. Ms No. 678 of 1886-92 — folio. 1 —

“ आलोच्याकरपाठं कुमारकाव्यस्य रच्यते तिलकं ।

गोपालदासकविना सम्यक्तीर्थानुशासनतः ॥ ४ ॥

शब्दार्थमृतमेतस्य नामतीर्थानुयाकरोत् ।

कृतीकायस्थगोपालः क्षोणीपालस्फुरद्भवाः ॥ ५ ॥ ”

⁵ *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 1, 67 a

⁶ *Lists of Sanskrit Mss in Southern India*, Vol I, p. 432, (No. 5353); p. 434 (No. 5267).

DATE OF THE SAMGĪTA-RĀGA-KALPA-DRUMAḤ

BY O. C. GANGOLY

In a learned note published under the heading 'Notes on Indian Chronology' (A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XIII, 1931, pp. 180-182), Mr. P. K. Gode has discussed the probable date of a Ms. of *Samgīta-rāga-kalpadruma* by Krishnananda Vyasadeva. After discussing the various musical texts utilized by the author in compiling his work, Mr. Gode comes to the conclusion that the *Samgīta-kalpadruma* can be assigned to a period between 1750 A. D. and 1800 A. D.

Apparently, it was not known to the learned writer of the note that this work has been printed twice, the original edition having been printed in Samvat 1899 (1842 A. D.) and a revised edition in 2 volumes having been printed in 1916 A. D. (S. 1973), edited by Nagendra Nath Basu and published by the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad under the munificent patronage of Raja Rao Jogindra Nārāyan Ray Bāhādur of Lalgola. As pointed out in Mr. N. N. Basu's Hindi Introduction to the revised edition, the Ms. of the work "carried about by the author in a huge bundle" was seen, (though not examined), by Rajendralal Mitra, at Calcutta, about the year 1836, if not later. According to the dates given in the original edition, the first part was printed on 19th March 1842 and the last part in 1849. According to the author's Introduction (Rāg-sāgarkī sūcanā) in Hindi, it took him 32 years to collect the data. Mr. N. N. Basu estimates that the author was born in 1794 A. D. It is very probable the Ms. was complete and made ready for publication, very shortly before 1836 A. D. say about 1830 A. D. The author was a Gouda Brahmin, hailing from, Johaini, Deva-gada-kote in Udaipur. He had his musical training in Br̥ndāvana, probably under Dāmodara Gosvāmi. Samgītā-cārya, and the title of 'Rāga-sāgara' was conferred on him by the Gossains of Gokula. The author was in Calcutta for several years and was honoured and patronized by the cultured society of this city and he projected his Encyclopaedia of Indian Music on the model of Raja Radha Kanta Deva's *Śabda-kalpa-druma*. I believe copies of the revised edition of the *Samgīta-Rāga-Kalpa-druma* are still available. It deserves a place in the Library of the Institute.*

* The work is noticed and described by M. Garcin de Tassy in his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, Tome Second, p. 520.

REVIEWS

**MALAVIYA COMMEMORATION VOLUME; BENARES
HINDU UNIVERSITY, 1932. 1150 pp., Rs. 10 only.**

In commemoration of the long services of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to this country in general and the Benares Hindu University in particular, the latter has presented to their *Kulapati* on the happy occasion of his septuagenary a Commemoration Volume — a handsome volume of more than a thousand pages with the photographs of the Pandit at different stages of life as also of the Hindu University sites and buildings — in which friends, admirers and co-workers of the great educationist, both in and outside the Hindu University, have contributed papers specially written to commemorate the happy occasion. These papers which are in three languages, English, Hindi and Sanskrit, have been divided into five sections: (1) Literature (2) History, Politics and Economics (3) Religion and Philosophy (4) Science and (5) Greetings, Appreciations and Memoirs. As this review is mainly concerned with subjects of Indian antiquarian and historical interest, we would take notice of papers of sections (2) and (3) that deal with Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.

Of the seventeen papers included in Section II (History, Economics and Politics) as many as eleven relate themselves to the subject of Ancient and Mediaeval Indian History and Culture in one or other of its various aspects of study. This is an eloquent evidence of the growing interest in the subject and its encouragement in our Universities.

In his short note on *The Murunda Dynasty and the date of Pāḍālipta* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal points out that a dynasty of rulers called the Murundas ruled at Pāṭaliputra contemporaneously with the Kuṣāṇa rulers of Peshawar or Puruṣapura. The Murundas, according to the Purāṇic calculation, were in power as long as the middle of the 3rd century A. D. He incidentally fixes the time of the Jaina teacher Pāḍālipta whose religious instructions to the

Murunda of Pāṭaliputra are noted in several Jaina texts including the *Prabhāvukacarita*. This time, he says, is the same as that of Kaniska or his predecessors, which is further corroborated by Pādalipta's controversy with Nāgārjuna who is associated with Kaniska. Dr. Ganganath Jha's paper is a short but well-documented analysis of the *Sources of Property under Hindu Law* according to Manu and Gautama, while Dr. R. K. Mookorjee contributes a rather long but interesting paper on *Ancient Indian Education as described in the Smṛti Texts*.

But perhaps of more than usual interest is the paper on *New Light on the Early Gupta History* where Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar discusses in detail the historicity of the story related in the Sanskrit drama *Devicandraguptam* bearing upon the adventurous life of king Candragupta II and referred to by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*, in the Sañjan copper plate of Amoghavarṣa, in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara, in the *Śṛṅgūraprakāśa* of Bhoja, in the story of Rawwāl and Barkamāris as narrated in the *Mojma'-t-Tawarikh*, and lastly by Śaṅkarārya in his commentary on the *Harṣacarita*. It is here, probably for the first time that a systematic attempt is made to reconstruct the history entangled in this mass of materials brought to notice and discussed by a series of scholars. Prof. Bhandarkar's main findings are (1) that Viśākha-datta, the author of *Devicandraguptam* is the same as the author of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, (2) that the Śāka referred to in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* was not a Śāka ruler, but was a preceptor of the Śakas (*Śakānām-Acāryaḥ*) as Śaṅkarārya gives us to understand (3) that the hostilities between Śākacārya and Rāmagupta took place somewhere near Kārtikeyapura (identical with Baijnāth in the Himālayas) which is called Kārtikeyanagara in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* where Śarmagupta (misreading for Rāmagupta) is said to have been forced to retreat after giving his queen Dhruvasvāmini to the King of the Khasas (misreading for Śakas), (4) that Rāmagupta was the elder brother of Candragupta II and is to be identified with king whose name is read in the Gupta coins as Kācagupta, and finally that (5) in the course of a hostility that ensued between the Śakas and Rāmagupta the latter agreed to give over Dhruvadevi, his wife, to the Śakas as ransom for peace, and tried to dissuade Kumāra Candragupta, his brother, from

going in the garb of his queen to kill the enemy, the Śākācārya in this case. Candragupta, however, in spite of the remonstrances of Rāmagupta, resolved to carry out his object, and dressed as Dhruvadevi succeeded in killing the Śaka preceptor and thus enhanced his fame and also his hold over the popular mind. But this roused the suspicion of Rāmagupta who had him arrested and imprisoned, but later on Candragupta succeeded in killing his brother, and seizing not only his throne but also his queen Dhruvadevi whom he married and who is supposed to have already had some attractions for her brother-in-law.

It may be noted in this connection in an issue of J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, 1932 part I, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his article on *Candragupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor* has arrived at conclusions that are mainly identical with Prof. Bhandarkar's. Thus Mr. Jayaswal seems to accept that Viśākha-datta, the author of the *Devicandragupta* is the same as the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, that Rāmagupta is merely a misreading for Kācagupta of the coins, and that Śarmagupta and Khasa of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* are misreadings for Rāmagupta and Śakas, that the widow Dhruvadevi was remarried to Candragupta II after the death of Rāmagupta had been brought about, and that the Śaka killed by Candragupta in disguise was the religious leader of the Śakas.* But he thinks that the Śaka killed by Candragupta was, besides being the religious leader, the lord or king of the Śakas as well. With regard to the identification of the place where the Śaka ruler's camp was pitched, Mr. Jayaswal seems to differ from Prof. Bhandarkar. He thinks that the place is to be identified with the Doab of Jullundhur between the Beas and Jhelum in the Punjab. The most important of these points, however, is the identification of Rāmagupta with Kācagupta. In support of it Mr. Jayaswal refers to his personal talk with Prof. Bhandarkar, but the scholars will now do well to consider carefully the line of reasoning so cleverly adduced by the Professor in his paper.

* Prof. Bhandarkar's paper was read as a lecture before the Calcutta University, and a summary of it appeared in *Liberty* of Sunday, Aug. 23, 1931.

In another paper Dr. Ramashankar Tripathi of the Hindu University discusses the *Early Position of Harṣa* where his main finding is that after the assassination of Rājyavardhana Harṣa was immediately crowned king on the throne of Thāneśvar, and so far as the evidence of *Harṣacarita* is concerned there was no hesitation on the part of Harṣa to accept the crown, as suggested by Smith and others. In fact, whatever hesitation in being crowned king was there is indicated in the itinerary of Yuanchwang alone, and it refers itself to the throne of Kanoj where Rājyaśrī, his widowed sister, was the real heir. But after the intervention, of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as it were, Harṣa persuaded himself to accept the throne of Kanoj - not calling himself *Mahārāja*, but simply *Kumāra Śīlāditya*. But it should be mentioned here that this point was clearly discussed and the finding made long ago by the present reviewer in his paper on *Harṣa-Śīlāditya : A Revised Study* in the Indian Historical Quarterly, December, 1927. Dr. Tripathi refers to me in two minor points only, though his main arguments follow the same course as mine; and, in one or two places his words and language are also the same, quoted, however, without acknowledgment. Further his incidental identification of Malwa (Mālava) where Devagupta was king with Eastern Malwa is not certainly original. This identification also was for the first time suggested and pointed out, on the strength of Vātsyāyana's evidence, by me in my paper on *The Maukharis of Kanoj* published in *Calcutta Review* as early as February, 1928 (p. 210). There in that article I suggested, also for the first time, that after two serious reverses from the hands of two successive Maukhari kings, Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman, the Gupta power of Magadha suffered a severe blow, and that after the defeat and death of Dāmodaragupta, the Maukharis bade fair to annex Magadha itself. This explains why Mahāsenagupta and one of his successors, Devagupta, are mentioned as kings of Mālava (Malwa) and not of Magadha, (p. 209-11). Dr. Tripathi accepts this theory but perhaps inadvertently passes it as his own.

In her short but very illuminating paper on *Classical and Mediaeval Indian Art* Dr. Stella Kramrisch discusses with authority the leading features of the main phases of Indian Art,

and thus establishes its main periods - the Early, the Classical, and the Mediaeval - which they themselves not only demand but actually dictate by their unmistakably visible features? She has also suggested incidentally that these three main phases of Indian Art are intimately connected with the racial history of the country. *Bāla-Gopāla-Stuṭi* by Mr. O. C. Gangoly is a neat and critical description of a newly discovered illustrated Ms. by the well-known South-Indian Vaiṣṇava saint Bilvamāṅgala Thākura, also known as Līlāśuka. It is dated by Mr. Gangoly, on stylistic grounds, c. 1425 A. D., slightly earlier than a manuscript with analogous illustrations known as *Vasanta-Vilāsa* which bears date Samv. 1508. As a document of Indian painting *Bāla-Gopāla-Stuṭi* is certainly of exceptional interest. Iconography is represented by a well-documented paper by Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya on *The Goddess of Learning in Jainism* materials of which are mainly drawn from Jain Mss. preserved in different *Bhaṇḍāras*. As a typical expression of the life and culture of the Cola kings of the South, the paper on *The Economy of a South Indian Temple* by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri is an interesting one. It is welcome news to all students of Indian culture and Art that 'under the *vimāna* in a dark passage round the *garbhagṛha*' of the Great Temple at Tanjore there are traces of fine frescoes in bright colours discovered very recently by a young scholar of the Annamalai University. Prof. Sastri regrets that 'as things move in this distracted and unfortunate country, it will be long before these fine frescoes become available for general study and criticism in proper reproductions.' But cannot the Archaeological Department move in this matter?

The mediaeval period of Indian History is represented by two very interesting papers, one on *The Annual Income and Expenditure of Sher Shah's Kingdom* by Mr. Paramatma Saran, and another on *Side-Lights on Currency in Mahārāṣṭra in the Seventeenth Century* by Prof. V. G. Kale. Both are virgin topics of study and are welcome contributions which await further elaboration in detail.

From the point of view of Indian History and Culture two very interesting papers are included in Section III (Religion and

Philosophy). One relates to the subject of *The Veda and its Interpretations* by Prof. A. B. Dhruva, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University, wherein he discusses the importance of ascertaining the correct interpretation of Vedic words, the true nature of Vedic deities, and the spirit of Vedic mythologies. The other paper on *Decline of Buddhism* by Prof. S. N. Bhattacharyya is a very illuminating one wherein he discusses the real causes of the decline of the religion in the land of its birth. Buddhism, according to him, perished not so much from persecution from outside as from the disintegration of the sanghas as a result of the loss of its moral force and of the corruptions within its fold that lent itself not only to political squabbles but to vicious religious practices as well.

15-4-32.

Niharranjan Ray

A HISTORY OF PĀLI LITERATURE BY BIMALA CHURN
LAW, Ph. D., M. A., B. L.; pp. XXVIII + 342 and VII + 343-
689, London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1933

Those who are familiar with the many works on Buddhism which have come from Dr. Bimala Churn Law's ready pen will find in his latest work abundant evidence of his wide reading and intimate knowledge of the Pāli literature. The work, which was approved by the University of Calcutta for the Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters in 1931, is unquestionably wanted, for in scope it transcends the works of Dr. Bode and Dr. Malasekera on the Pāli literature in Burma and Ceylon, and in wealth of detail it goes far beyond even Professor Winternitz's masterly sketch, which is to be made available in English. The two works, written from different standpoints, will be found admirably to supplement each other, and to facilitate the further investigation of the manifold problems of literary history presented by the abundant Pāli literature. Dr. Law is well aware how much there still remains to be done on the field in which he labours, and doubtless we may expect much further enlightenment at his hands. It is an interesting suggestion (ii. 646) that Pāli literature has still great possibilities of influence on the literature of the east and west alike, and that both modern and ancient Bengalee literature have drawn inspiration from Pāli literature.

The careful analysis of the contents of the important works dealt with is a feature of special value, and it is to be regretted that the index has not been extended so as to make available more readily the wealth of facts recorded. Dr. Law is on the whole more concerned with the matter than the form of the literature, and neither the *Theragāthā* nor the *Therīgāthā* arouses in him the admiration which others have felt for these texts. But he is more appreciative of the *Jinacarita*, and while not contesting the acquaintance of its author with the classical Sanskrit literature points out (ii. 614) that the style of poetry found in the works of Aśvaghoṣa or the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa leads us back to the *gāthās* forming the prologue of the *Nālakasutta* in the *Suttanipāta* as its

model. On other points, perhaps unfortunately, he leaves us without assurance of his own views. Thus he cites (i. 276) the views of Professor Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 180-6, 205, 206) on the origin of the Jātakas in such a way as to suggest that he accepts the view held by that scholar, with Oldenberg and Windisch, of the Ākhyāna in verse and prose as the precursor of epic. It would unquestionably have been of value to have this subject considered once more by an expert from the standpoint of Buddhist literature, when in all probability the theory would have been seen to present at least as many problems as it solves.

It is natural to turn to Dr. Law's view (Introduction, pp. IXXV) of the linguistic character of Pāli. Dr. Law adopts a view of the famous passage of the Vinaya on *sakū nirutti* which denies it any linguistic reference. He holds that it means " a mode of expression which a member of the Holy Order might claim as his own, that is to say, an idiom, a diction, a language or a vehicle of expression with which a Bhikkhu was conversant, which a person could use with advantage, a mode of expression which was not Buddha's own but which might be regarded as one by the Bhikkhus representing diverse names, cultures, races, and families. One's mother tongue or vernacular would also be an interpretation of *sakū nirutti* inconsistent with the context as well as with the Buddha's spirit of rationalist. " It is not easy to accept this view as cogent. It is, of course, true that the term *sakū nirutti* cannot possibly mean the speech of the Buddha, assumed by Buddhaghosa to be Māgadhi, but, as the alternative is *Chandaso*, it seems impossible not to give the term a definite reference to language, and we may permit the Buddha to have the honour of having encouraged the use of the vernacular for his gospel. That, it seems to me, accords well with his rationalism for a version of his tenets *chandaso* would hardly have helped the diffusion of his doctrine. We can, however, only agree with Dr. Law in leaving open the issue of the dialect on which Pāli is based. It is so literary a language when it is recorded that any particularisation runs serious risk of exceeding what is legitimate in the way of speculation.

Attention should also be called to Dr. Law's elaborate investigation (i. 1-42) of the chronology of the Pāli canonical texts. which contains much of interest and importance. It must, however, remain, doubtful what value is to be attached to the

theory (i. 324,325) which ascribes the *Kathāvatthu* to the period of Asoka, and all conclusions which assume the truth of that ascription suffer from the dubiety of its accuracy. Similarly the *Dhammatzangā*, which Mrs. Rhys Davids ascribes to the fourth century B. C. may well be very considerably later in date. It is unlucky that conclusive evidence of any sort in these matters is still lacking. The collection of data by the author is most valuable, but in nearly every case nothing but relative chronology can be regarded as attained, and in many instances even this is lacking. It is still not proved that Asoka knew any of our texts in anything like their present form.

Our sincere thanks are due to the author for his two Appendixes the first on the historical and geographical data of the Pīṭakas, and the second on the Pāli tracts in inscriptions. On minor points throughout the volumes there is often room for divergence of view, and as usual there are a regrettable number of misprints (a 'not' is needed at p. XXV, line 2), but these points are negligible in comparison with the interest and value of the treatise.

A. Berriedale Keith

KALIDASA: HIS PERIOD, PERSONALITY AND POETRY

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B. A., B. L., Vol. I, Published
by Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam Price Rs. 3/.

Poet and patriot, Mr. K. S. Rāmāswami Śāstri has endeared himself to the learned and thinking public of India, and South India in particular by thought-provoking contributions too numerous to mention. A close and critical student of Sanskrit literature Mr. Śāstriar has made a special study of Kālidāsa's works, and the volume before us is full of evidence. In the introductory chapter he states that his aim in writing this book is to interpret Kālidāsa 'with the object of winning the love of modern India and of the modern age to the Sanskrit language and literature to the Indian culture'.

After referring to the place of the poet in life and literature, the learned author proceeds to discuss his birth - place and the birth date. After an elaborate examination of the different theories which hold the field in a convincing manner the author concludes that Benares was his native home and that Kālidāsa must have flourished in the second century B. C. It is held with great force that Agnimitra was son of Puspamitra (Puṣyamitra), and Vasumitra was his son. In the light of the critical enquiries set forth in the book one cannot help concluding that Kālidāsa had nothing to do with the Guptas, as is alleged and was a contemporary of Agnimitra, king of Vidiśā.

The author has also pointed out the indebtedness of Kālidāsa to the Upaniṣadic lore and to poets like Vālmiki. The major works like the *Kumārasambhava* and *Vikramorvaśīya* bear infallible testimony that Kālidāsa was a close student of the Purāṇas, especially the *Matsya Purāṇa*, one of the oldest Purāṇas. The account followed is the same as found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and this proves that Kālidāsa lived posterior to the composition of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Mr. Śāstriar has exploded the untenable theories of interpolations in some of his works, like the last cantos of the *Kumārasāmbhava*. He rightly shows how the so-called later portions completely fit in with the main theme, and how the language and style corroborate it strongly.

Two more points are worth noticing. One is the religion and philosophy of the poet. The author remarks 'He was a most catholic exponent of that most catholic of all religious Vedāntism'. The other point is that even in a big scheme like the world conquest, Raghu embarked on righteous warfare, Dharma Vijaya, which phrase has misled Aśokan scholars to think that Aśoka the emperor gave up arms and substituted morality! Kālidāsa seems to paraphrase the term by saying *anamrūṇām samuddhartā*. Thus the term is full of political significance, and Kālidāsa uses it in the Kauṭaliyan sense just like Aśoka in his inscriptions.

The value of this book would have been much enhanced by the addition of an index and bibliography. We hope the author will furnish these in the second volume promised to us shortly.

V. R. R. Dikshitar

INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL, VOL. III. EDITED BY NANI
GOPAL MAJUMDAR, M. A. Published by the Varendra Research
Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.

This volume is published at the expense of Kumār Sarat Kumar Ray, M. A., of the Dighapatiya family, the founder of the Society and its Museum. It was originally the intention of the Society to bring out in Bengali the inscriptions of Bengal in three volumes. Only the first, containing the inscriptions of the Pāla period entitled *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā* was published about 19 years ago, under the editorship of the late Akshay Kumar Maitra. The Society has recently changed its plan, and contemplates issuing in English these inscriptions in four volumes, viz. the first comprising the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the second containing those of the Pāla period, the third of the Candras, the Varmans and the Senas, etc.; and the fourth of the Muslim period. The present volume has consequently been marked as the third.

We congratulate Mr. N. G. Majumdar and also the Hony. Secretary of the Society, Mr. Bijay Nath Sarkar, for bringing out this handy and welcome volume. We are sure that the scholars will much appreciate it, as it will save them the trouble of hunting out references from different books. The map showing the find-places of the inscriptions has much added to the value of this work. We hope with the Honorary Secretary that the companion volumes will not be long in coming out.

The present volume claims to contain roughly all the known inscriptions of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries A. D., but we do not find the inscriptions of Raṇavaṅkamalla (Colebrooke's *Mis. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 242), Kāntideva (*Modern Review*, Nov. 1922) and Govinda-Keśavadeva (*E. I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 278 ff. and *Proc. A. S. B.* pp. 141-151). Nevertheless, Mr. N. G. Majumdar seems to have taken great pains to improve upon the readings and interpretations of his predecessors and added, so far as the records contained in them are concerned, up-to-date information. The only fault we may find with him is that he has paid rather

scanty attention to the geography of the places mentioned in the inscriptions. Then he has published transcripts of some records without any reproductions accompanying them, even though they were available.

We would now pass some remarks about the readings, interpretations and Geography generally by way of detailed criticism of the book :

Page 5, line 3. - what has been read as *Nōnya-maṇḍale* may also be read as *Nāvya-maṇḍale*, i. e. in the Circle or District which is navigable'. Cf. *Vaṅge nāvya Rāmasiddhipāṭake* and *nāvya vinayatilaka-grāme* in the Sāhitya-parisat copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena (p. 146). The places are water-logged (*bil*) even now.

Page 23, verses 10 and 11. - There has been some difference of opinion as to the interpretation of these two verses. Some portions on the obverse side of the plate have not come out very clear in the facsimile given. Of the reading : *Taśy = Odayī sūnur = abhūt* we could not find the ending *t* in the plate. There is, however, the name Udayī in line 17, and Jagadvijayamalla in line 19. We may or may not agree with Mr. N. N. Vasu, in his identification of Udayī with paramāra Udayāditya, king of Mālava, but his identification of Jagadvijayamalla, with his son Jagaddeva (*Vaṅger Jātīy / tihās, Rājanyakāṇḍa*, p. 286) is very tempting. This is strengthened by the epithet Mālavadevi of the queen Trailokyasundarī. It indicates that she was a daughter of a Mālava king. Further *Śrī-Bhojavarm = obhaya-vamśa-dīpaḥ* in line 21, p. 20 appears to suggest that something laudatory has been said above, both about the father and mother's side of Bhojavarman. When Mr. Vasu made the identification, there was no reliable evidence as to the fact that Udayāditya had a son named Jagaddeva beyond the legendary account of the *Rāsa-mālā* (B. K. I., hap. 8). We have now before us the epigraphic evidence to show that Jagaddeva was a son of Udayāditya of Mālava in a recently published inscription found at Jainad (*Arch Surv. Rep. of the Nizam's Deminions, 1927-8*, p. 23). Unfortunately the inscription gives no year. There is difficulty, however, in finding his approximate date. We know Udayāditya was

succeeded by his son Lakṣmadeva, who again was succeeded by his brother Naravarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 182). Again, Naravarman was succeeded by his son Yaśovarmadeva. So it appears that Jagaddeva must be another name of either Lakṣmadeva or Naravarman. According to the accounts of the Bhāṭs, (Luard and Lele's *Paramaras of Dhar and Malava*, Reprint from Dhar State Gazetteer, p. 30), Jagaddeva offered his head to the goddess Kālī in the year 1151 V. S. which again is the first known date of Naravarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX, p. 27, No. 159). This clearly shows that Jagaddeva and Lakṣmadeva were identical. Jagaddeva ruled sometime between 1143 V. S., the last known date of his father Udayāditya, and his death in 1151 V. S.

Again Mr. Majumdar, in fixing the chronology of the Varman mentioned in this record, says that the Varman ruler Jātavarman and the Pāla prince Vigrahapāla III married daughters of the Cedi king, Karna. So they were contemporaries. Their sons Sāmalavarman and Rāmapāla were also contemporaries. So were their grandsons Bhojavarman and Kumārapāla. Then he writes: "The latest known date of Gāṅgeyadeva 1037 A. D. and that of his son Karna is 1075 A. D. The latter's sons-in-law Jātavarman and Vigrahapāla III., must have therefore reigned within this period." (p. 17). First of all it is not true that the latest known date of Karna is 1073 A. D. It is the first known date of Yaśaḥkarna. Secondly, it is not clear why he considers the father-in-law and the sons-in-law to be contemporaries. They are as much contemporaries as fathers and sons are. Properly speaking Jātavarman and Vigrahapāla III are contemporaries, not of Karna so much as of Karna's son Yaśaḥkarna. Now the latest known date of Karna is K. 812=106, A. D. and the earliest known date of Yaśaḥkarna's son Gayakarna is K. 902=1151 A. D. Jātavarman and Vigrahapāla must have therefore reigned sometime between 1061 and 1151 A. D. Sāmalavarman was thus a contemporary of Gayakarna. Similarly, Bhojavarman was a contemporary of Narasiṃha and Jayasiṃha, sons of Gayakarna. The date of Gayakarna is K. 902=1151 A. D. and the earliest known date of Jayasiṃha's son Vijayasimha is K. 932=1181 A. D. Bhojavarman thus flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century, and not in the beginning of that century as contended by Mr. Majumdar (*Loc. cit.*, p. 17.)

Page 45, line 7 - This Umāpatidhara is perhaps identical with the poet Umāpatidhara, who wrote a book named *Candracūḍa-caritu* under the patronage of one Cāṇakya-candra (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VI. p. 566).

Pages 119-121. - Edilpura grant of Keśavasena - As regards the interpretation of the puzzling verse 10, we agree with R. D. Banerji that *Viśvarūpa-nṛpaḥ* is an epithet and not a name. We find that names of the donor kings wherever they occur, in this as well as in the Madanapāda plate, have been tampered with, but *Viśvarūpa-nṛpaḥ* has been left unaltered. This shows that it was not considered as the name of the king. If it is an epithet, to whom did it belong? As the preceding verses 8 and 9, as well as the following verses 11-14 refer to Lakṣmaṇasena, the epithet must also belong to him. By *bhūmipatinā* in verse 10, Vallālasena is meant. It cannot refer to Lakṣmaṇasena, as he was not a worshipper of god Bhava but of Narasimha or Viṣṇu.

The name of the queen in line 27 of the charter (p. 123) we read Raṇṇādevī, which has been read by Mr. Majumdar as Candradevī. Again the name of the place (l. 38) of the grant (p. 124) we read Yakṣagrāma, in place of Phalgugrāma by Mr. Majumdar. For *kṣa* may be compared with *kṣa* in 'śilūṣita-pakṣa' in line 1 of the script.

The name of the donated village in line 47, p. 125 has been read by Messrs. Banerji and Majumdar as Tālapadāpātaka, but Prinsep read it as Latātaghadāghātaka (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII. p. 45). We read it Latātaghadāghātaka. The plate was found in the neighbourhood of village Latā, where the principal *kācūri* of the Tagore zamindars of the Idilpur paraganā was situated. The village of Latā having been washed away, the *kācūri* has been removed to the adjoining village of Ghodāghāṭa. The Latā river is still there.

In line 57 the number 200 denotes the value of the land, not in terms of *dramma*, but in terms of *hiranya*, as the shortened form *hi* would indicate.

In verse 21 by Garga-Yavana the Kālayavanas are meant, for they are the descendants of sage Garga (*Brahma-Purāṇa*,

Chap. 196). Here of course they must denote some party of Muhammadan raiders.

Page 133. – Madanapāḍa copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena: We read Phalgugrāma as Candragrāma, for reasons, see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV., p. 641.

We agree with Majumdar in reading the name of the queen as Tādādevī, but as regards the name of this very queen in the Sāhitya-parīṣat plate we agree with M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstri as Taṭṭanadevī. Tādā is perhaps the Prakrit form of Taṭṭana.

The real name of the donated village seems to be Piñjethālyagrāma (l. 46), which has been Sanskritized into Piñjokāṣṭī (ll. 43 and 45). Mr. Vasu could not read the syllable *lya* after Pinjothā (l. 46), but Mr. Majumdar has altogether omitted it.

The names of the king (ll. 22 and 38) and of his mother (l. 21) as also the lines 43–46, containing the descriptions of the donated land seem to have been an after-insertion. Mr. Vasu tried to explain this after-insertion of the name of king Viśvarūpa in two different places in different hands by saying that they were Royal sign-manuals. This does not seem to us to be satisfactory. Because why have the name of the queen-mother and the descriptions of the land been manipulated? Can it be that the grant of a predecessor of Viśvarūpasena with a name of three syllables was revised by him?

Page 152, line 1 of the Text – in footnotes Mr. Majumdar says that after *babhūva* and before *labdha-janmā* there were four letters of which the second one is clearly a *ga* and the third and the fourth letters look like *°ndhiya*. It is impossible to make out the reading with any degree of certainty as the letters are too far worn out. As far as can be made out from the facsimile given, we read *Nāgānvaya* between *babhūva* and *labdha-janmā*. The sign of *ā* is clearly attached to *ga*; so we read it as *gā*. For *nva*, compare it in line 24 of the Plate. There is no sign of *i* before *nva*. If our reading is correct, Īśvaraghoṣa was born in the Nāga clan. It may be asked: if he was a Nāga, how could he have the surname of Ghosha? There is no anomaly in this. The Nāgas had among them many surnames* and *gotras*. Thus among the Bengal Kāya-

* King Durlabhavarddhana of Kashmir belonged to the Nāga clan, but his surname was Varddhan-.

sthas Nāgas have several *gotras*, of which one is Saukālina. One of the *gotras* of the Ghoshas is also Saukālina.

Page 161 – Mr. Majumdar has failed to indentify any of the places mentioned in the plate, but Lavanotsa mentioned in line 27 of the script can, without doubt, be identified with Lavanākhyā, about 3 miles north of Sitākunḍa police station of the district of Chittagong. It contains a salt spring and is a place of pilgrimage (*Chittagong District Gazetteer* p. 190).

Page 167, line 6 – Instead of Satata-Padmavāṭi-Viṣaya perhaps Satata - Padmāvati-Viṣaya was engraved, meaning the district consisting of the river Padmā with its banks. In old Sanskrit books the river Padmā is mentioned as Padmāvati.

Page 171 line 19 – The correct pravara of the Garga gotra, according to Baudhāyana is *Āngiras-Vārhaspatya--Bhāradvāja-Sāinya-Gārgya*. Here as the pravara names have been mentioned without *taddhita*, so in place of *Sāinya* it should be *Sini*, but not *Uśana* as has been improved upon by Mr. Majumdar.

Page 171, note 12. It appears that there was a pillar in honour of the god Ugramādhava, on which the standard measurement of cubit consisting of 36 *āṅgulis* was engraved. A cubit generally consists of 24 *āṅgulis* (breadth of fingers). Vide *S. I. Ep. Rep.* for 1916-17, p. 84, No. 131 & *Ibid* for 1917-18, pp. 89 & 98 No. 5 and 97. +

Page 171, lines 19 & 20. — The donee Kṛṣṇadharaśarma seems to have been a Dākṣiṇātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇa. There is a colony of these Brāhmaṇas in the Diamond Harbour sub-division of the district of 24 Pargānas, where the donated land lies. Garga gotra is also found among them.

Page 175 – The Sena kings professed to be as Brahma-kṣatriyas in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena (p. 50) and also as Karnāta-Kṣatriyas in the Mādhāinagara plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (p. 113). Some see inconsistency in this. But there appears to be none at all. Brahma-Kṣatriya is a sub-division of the Khatris, as the Karnāta-Khatris are (*Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II. p. 206). Again the Brhma-Kṣatris of Gujarāt who went to Benares and Lucknow are known as Gujarāt Kṣatris (*Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 209). These Brahma-Kṣatris are writers by profession (*Ibid.* p. 212)

+ This custom of Southern India appears to have been introduced by the Senas in Bengal, who hailed from Karnāṭa.

The *Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas* are the priests of the *Brahma-Kṣatriyas* as well as of the *Karpāta-Kṣatriis*. We find that *Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa*, a *Sārasvata Brāhmaṇa*, was the *guru* of *Vallālasena* (verse 6).

Page 178, note 12 - Instead of *Avallika* we read *Avantika*, meaning ' coming from *Avanti* ', perhaps to distinguish him from *Halāyudha*, the author of '*Brāhmaṇa-Sarvasva*.'

We find mention of a *Halāyudha*, an inhabitant of *Daksina-Rādha*, in an inscription in the *Amareśvara Temple* at *Māndhatā*, *C. P.* dated *Samvat 1120* (*Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, p. 22). If the date is in *Śaka* era he becomes a contemporary of king *Lakṣmaṇasena*. He might be identical with *Halāyudha*, one of the first *Kulins* of *Rādhi Brāhmans*.

Page 179, lines 56-57 - note 3 - *Sastri* read *Domvarakāṭṭi*. It has now been correctly read as *Ghāghrahāṭṭi*. In our article in the *I. H. Q.* referred to above, we on the incorrect reading of *Sastri* identified it with the modern village of *Rahamatapura*. Now we have no doubt that it is identical with the village of *Ghāghrahāṭi*, where the plates of *Samācaradeva* and others were found. There is still a river named *Ghāgharā* (*Ghargharā* ?). It is in the *Kotālīpārā paragaṇā* of the *Faridpur* district, which is one of the 21 *paragaṇās*, which has been separated from *Candradvīpa*.

We have, in our aforesaid article, identified this *Rājapandita Maheśvara* with *Maheśvara Vandyā*, one of the first *kulins* of the *Rādhi Brāhmans*. *Vandyas* were perhaps the early settlers of *Candradvīpa* in *Vaṅga*. The following line from a *Kulajī* quoted by *Mr. Pareścandra Vandyopādhyāya* in page 349 of his *History of Bengal* called *Vāṅglār Purāṇ* goes to support this view :-

" *Vandyā Vaṅge vās pārśve Vaṅglār āli.* "

In an inscription of 1145 *śaka* preserved in the *Vāleśvara temple* of *Kumaun* we find mention of a *Vaṅgaja Brāhmaṇa* named *Rudra* of the family of *Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa* (*Notes on Himalayan districts of Atkinson*, p. 516). This *Rudra* was perhaps the son of *Irśāna Vandyā*, who according to *Dhruvānanda Miśra*, was present at the court of *Lakṣmaṇasena*.

Note 4 - *Mr. Majumdar* wants to read the word as *Candradvīpa* or *Indradvīpa*. We do not understand how it can be read as *Indradvīpa*. As it stands in the facsimile it can be read as

Phandradvīpa of. *pha* in *odānīphala* in lines 46-47 of the Madana. pāda charter (J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV. pt. I, Plate II,). We read it Candradvīpa. For our reasons see article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV.

Page 180, note I - There is *hi* before 500, so it indicates 500 *hirānya* and not *purāṇa* as supposed by Mr. Majumdar.

Page 187, - Karāṇas and the Kāyasthas do not appear to have had originally the same function. Karāṇas were probably writers and accountants, while the Kāyasthas were revenue officers. Karāṇa also meant an office or a sub-department of an Adhikarāṇa. Thus Karāṇika meant an officer in charge of a Karāṇa. Karāṇika, which is derived from the same root as Kāraṇika, has been translated by Shamasastry in *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* as 'Superintendent of accounts'.

Page 184 - Catta might also mean 'king's favourite'. In the grant of Vinīta-tuṅga we find Bhaṭṭa-vallbha-jātiyān (*Arch. Sur. of Mayurabhaṇja*, p. 156). In Kautilya also find that people used to be tormented by king's favourites (*ballav*).

Page 186 - Mahā-kāyastha has been translated as 'the chief clerk', but the references quoted by Mr. Majumdar show that Mahā-kāyasthas were at the head of Mahattaras and Daśa-grāmikas (heads of ten villages), who were no doubt in charge of village lands and revenues. It is evident from the Ramganj plate of Īśvaraghosa that the functions of the Kāyasthas were different from those of Karāṇas or Lekhakas (scribes), for they have been separately mentioned in that plate (p. 156).

Page 191, line 13 - The names of the Pravara Rsis may be any three of the following: Kaśyapa, Avatsāra, Śaṇḍila (not Śaṇḍilya), Asita and Devala (Baudhāyana's *Śrauta-Sūtra*),

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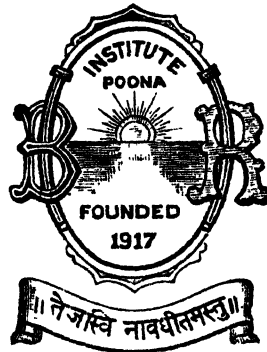
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Shrimant BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B. A.
Ruler of Aundh

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[PARTS III-IV

IDEALS, MERITS AND DEFECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM¹

BY

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It is proposed to discuss in this paper the aims and ideals of ancient Indian educational system with a view to ascertain how far they were realised in practice. We shall also dwell upon certain salient features of the system with a view to understand its merits and defects.

To persons interested in theories and ideals of education, the history of ancient India education may appear rather disappointing. Our sources are more concerned with describing the main features of the educational system than with discussing its basic principles. The educational system also became stereotyped at a fairly early stage; a few changes did take place, but the writers of later times are more anxious to conceal than expound the changed methods and ideals.

It must be however pointed out that in Europe too there was hardly any systematic discussion of the theories of education till recent times. Controversies about the relative importance of literary and useful education started only in the 17th century

¹ From the writer's forthcoming book on 'Education in Ancient India'.

A. D. Theories about the importance of the child and its inclinations in outlining an educational system were unknown before the time of Rousseau. Whether memory should be trained more than the reasoning faculty, whether reading should be encouraged more than reflection, whether education is expanse of natural powers or an accretion to them from without, what is the relative importance of and proper time for physical, aesthetic, moral and intellectual training, are problems that have begun to be systematically discussed even in the West only in the last hundred years or so. In ancient India, we sometimes come across stray reflections about some of these problems, but there is no regular and systematic discussion. This was perhaps to some extent a natural consequence of the absence of any social or state control over the educational system. Both the state and society gave full liberty to teachers. As they were not subjected to any appreciable external criticism or control, they went on their traditional grooves without giving much thought to the fundamental problems of education.

We have further to note that the peculiar constitution of Hindu society rendered a discussion of some of these problems out of question. For instance, the controversy about Literary *versus* Useful education was inconceivable in ancient Indian society. Professions came to be assigned hereditarily to different groups; if any body had started the discussion of this controversy, he would have been told that for certain classes liberal education was more important than useful education, and for certain others the case was just the reverse.

Formation of character, building up of personality, preservation of ancient culture and the training of the rising generation in the performance of the social and religious duties,—these were the main aims of Ancient Indian System of Education. Let us see what were the views of Hindu thinkers about these ideals and how far they were realised in practice.

Educationalists of ancient India have attached the greatest importance to the formation of character. The Vedas were regarded as revealed and therefore their preservation was of paramount importance: and yet we find orthodox thinkers like Manu declaring without any hesitation that a person of good character with a

mere smattering of Vedic knowledge is to be preferred to another, who though well versed in all the three Vedas, is impure in his life and habits.¹ Vedic study, charity, and sacrifices are of no use to men of questionable character.² Purity in thought and life is the key-stone of spiritual progress.³ Manu grows very eloquent in describing the necessity of self control to the student (*Brahmacārin*).

Apart from such direct injunctions, the very atmosphere in which the *Brahmacārin* lived, was calculated to give a proper turn to his character. He was to be under the direct supervision of his teacher, who was to watch not only his intellectual progress but also his moral behaviour.

Upanayana ritual was calculated to impress the fact that the student's life was a consecrated one; divine co-operation was secured in his favour to ensure a successful journey along the path of knowledge, that co-operation would be withdrawn and dire consequences would follow if he was guilty of a moral lapse. The examples of his teachers and of national and epic heroes that were placed before the student were also calculated to give the right turn to his character.

It is difficult to estimate correctly how far this effort to elevate the national character was successful. In all times and countries there exist some persons of high and some of depraved character, and unfortunately history has largely to deal with these abnormal types. We rarely come across the average man. We can, however, get some idea of the influence of education on national character by the opinions expressed by foreign observers, who appear to be impartial. Amongst them the Greeks are chronologically the earliest. Politically the Greeks were not the allies but the enemies of the Hindus; they have made many disparaging remarks about some aspects of Hindu culture, but they have candidly noted the high impression that the Hindu character and veracity produced on their mind. 'An Indian has never been convicted of lying; truth and virtue they hold in high esteem', says Megasthenes in

¹ II, 118; सावित्रीमात्रसरोपि वरं विप्रः सुयन्त्रितः । नायन्त्रितस्त्रिवेदोपि सर्वाङ्गी सर्वविक्रयी ॥

² *Ibid*, II, 97,

³ *Ibid*, II, 160.

one place.¹ This statement could not have been literally true, but it shows that the cases of cheating and swindling must have been very few in society. Strabo and Megasthenes have further pointed out that law suits among the Indians were rare owing to their frank dealing. "They are not litigious. Witnesses and seals are not necessary when a man makes a deposit, he acts in trust. Their houses are usually unguarded."²

Yuan Chwang pays an equally high compliment to the Indian character during the 7th century A. D. He has carefully noted the weak and strong points in the character of the peoples of different localities; but while summing up his impressions of the Indian character as a whole, he says "They (i. e. Indians) are of hasty and irresolute temperament but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear for retribution for sins in other lives and make light of what conduct produces in this life. *They do not practise deceit and they keep their sworn obligations.*"³ The vast majority of Indians in Yuan Chwang's time did not share his religious beliefs and practices, and are yet paid the above high compliment by the Chinese pilgrim.

Al Idrisi's impressions of the Hindu character in western India during the 10th century A. D. are similar to those of Yuan Chwang's. Though a Muslim, he says of the Hindus, '*The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions.* Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to engagements are well known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous."⁴

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo was impressed equally highly by the character of Western India. "You must know" says he, "that these Brahmans are the best merchants in the world and the most truthful, for they would never tell a lie for anything on the earth. If a foreign merchant, who does not know

¹ Megasthenes, Fragment 27.

² *Ibid.*

³ Watters, I, p. 171.

⁴ Elliot, *History*, vol. I p. 88.

the ways of the country, applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they would take charge of these and sell them in the most zealous manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to give." ¹ When the morality of the trading classes is so high, the character of the average man must have been very noble. Ibn Batuta, another Muslim observer, describes the Marathas of Deogiri and Nandurbar of the 14th century as 'upright, religious and trustworthy'. ²

Travellers and merchants are usually disposed to make disparaging remarks about the culture and character of the foreigners among whom they have moved; when so many of them belonging to different times and climes and professing different faiths agree in paying a high tribute to Indian character, we may well conclude that there is no exaggeration and that the educational system of the country had succeeded remarkably in its ideal of raising the national character to a high level. It is only after the 17th and 18th centuries A. D. that we come across foreign travellers, traders, missionaries and ex-governors passing strictures upon the Hindu character. Many of them were misled by their prejudices, and it is also possible that the Hindu character may have suffered deterioration during the long spell of foreign rule in mediæval times. It is, however, worth observing that not a single foreign observer is found passing hostile remarks about Hindu character and honesty during the ancient period of Indian history.

The second aim of the Education System was the development of personality. It is very often asserted that Hindu education suppressed personality and originality by prescribing a uniform course of education and by enforcing an iron discipline. The course however was not rigidly uniform. In early times there was a free choice of professions and careers. In the later times when the caste system became rigid, the theory no doubt was that everyone should follow his hereditary profession, but the practice permitted considerable freedom to enterprising individuals. It would be wrong to assert that the whole of the Aryan society was engaged for twelve years in cramming the Vedic

¹ Yule, *Marco polo*, Vol. II, p. 363 (Third Edition).
Ibn Batuta, p. 228.

texts during the Smṛti period. Only a section of the Brāhmaṇa community followed this line, others used to learn only a few Vedic Mantras sufficient for their daily use, and reserve their main energy for the study of a subject of their own choice like logic, philosophy, literature or poetics. The educational curriculum of the Smṛtis represents the Utopian idealism of the Brāhmaṇa theologian and not the actual reality in the society.

The Hindu educational system helped the development of personality by cultivating self-respect, self-reliance and self-restraint. The Brahmacārin was the custodian of the culture and civilisation of the race. The welfare of the race depended upon his proper discharge of his duties. If Indra is pre-eminent among the gods, if the king is successful as a governor, it is all due to their proper training and education.¹ To support the poor student was the sacred duty of society, the non-performance of which would lead to dire spiritual calamities. A well-trained youth, who had finished his education, was to be honoured more than the king himself. It is but natural that such an atmosphere should develop the student's self-respect in a remarkable manner.

Self-confidence was also fostered equally well. The *Upanayana* ritual sought to foster self-confidence by pointing out that divine powers would co-operate with the student and help him on to the achievement of his goal, if he on his part did his duty well. Poverty need not depress him; he was the ideal student who would subsist by begging his daily food. If he was willing to work in his spare time, he could demand and get education from any teacher or institution. Self-reliance is the mother of self-confidence, and the Hindu educational system seeks to develop it in a variety of ways. Uncertainty of the future prospect did not damp self-confidence. If the student was following a professional course, his career was already determined. There was no overcrowding in professions and no cut-throat competition. If he was taking religious and liberal education, poverty was to be the ideal of his life. His needs ought to be, and as a matter of fact were, few and state and society supplied them well.

¹ *Atharvaveda*, XI, 5

The element of self-restraint, that was emphasised by the educational ideal, further served to enrich the student's personality. Self-restraint that was emphasised was distinctly different from self-repression. Simplicity in life and habits was all that was insisted upon. The student was to have a full meal, only it was to be a simple one. The student was to have sufficient clothing, only it was not to be foppish. The student was to have his recreations, only they were not to be frivolous. He may use shoes when going out to the jungles, only he should be able to do without them in villages and towns where roads were better. He was to lead a life of perfect chastity, but that was only to enable him to be an efficient and healthy householder when he married. It will be thus seen that what the educationalists aimed at, did not result in self-repression, but only promoted self-restraint that was so essential for the development of a proper personality. Nor was this self-restraint enforced in Spartan ways of correction and punishment. The teacher was required to use persuasion and spare the rod as far as possible. He was liable to be prosecuted if he used excessive force.

It may be further pointed out in this connection that powers of discrimination and judgment, so necessary for the development of proper personality, were well developed in students taking liberal education and specialising in logic, philosophy, poetics or literature. These branches of study bristled with controversies and the student had to understand both the sides, form his own judgment and defend his position in literary debates. It was only with the Vedic students that education became mechanical training of memory. This became inevitable in later times when the literature to be preserved became very extensive and the modern means of preservation were unavailable. In earlier days even the Vedic students were well trained in exegesis and could explain the meaning of what they could recite.

The data available to determine how far the educational system was successful in evolving personality is meagre. We come across several masterful personalities in different walks of life in ancient India, but how far they were typical of their age we do not know. Hindu achievements, however, in different walks of life and branches of knowledge were of a fairly high order in

ancient India, and this would hardly have been possible if the products of the Hindu Educational system were not masterful personalities. Things changed for the worse in mediæval times; *Brahmacarya* discipline became nominal when a vast majority of students began to marry at a very early age; growth of independent judgment became stunted with the growing veneration for the past and its time-hallowed tradition. Self-confidence and self-respect disappeared in a great measure when society began to suffer from the convulsions of sudden foreign invasions and long alien rule, imposing a hated religion and strange culture with the aid of the sword. We must not judge the success of the Ancient Indian Educational System in building personalities of students by conclusions based upon its products at the advent of the British rule.

The developemet of social efficiency and civic responsibility was another aim of the Educational system. Education was no aimless training. Society had accepted the theory of the division of work, which was mainly governed by the principle of heredity. Exceptional talent could always select the profession of its own choice; it was however deemed to be in the interest of the average man that he should follow his family's profession. The Educational System sought to qualify the members of the rising generation for their more or less predetermined spheres of life. Each trade or guild trained its children in its own art. This system may have sacrificed the individual inclinations of a few, but it was undoubtedly in the interest of many. It trained children efficiently in their family professions. Hindu thinkers did not concur with Milton in thinking that an ideal system of education ought to qualify a youth to perform skilfully, justly and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. They believed in differentiation of functions and trained different classes for different spheres of work.

The Educational System laid particular stress upon civic and social duties and responsibilities. The *Snātaka* or the educated youth was not to lead a self-centred life. He was enjoined perpetuation of race and culture by raising and educating progeny. He was to perform his duties as a son, husband, and father conscientiously and efficiently. His wealth was not to be utilised

solely for his own or his family's wants; he must be hospitable and charitable. Particularly emphatic are the words in the convocation address, emphasising these duties.¹ Professions had their own codes of honour, which emphasised the civic responsibilities of their members. The physician was required to relieve disease and distress even at the cost of his life. The warrior had his own high code of honour.

Social structure in ancient India was to a great extent independent of government. Governments may come and go, but social and village life was not much affected by these changes. It was probably this circumstance that was responsible for the non-inclusion of patriotism among the civic duties, inculcated by the Educational System.

The preservation of ancient heritage and culture was perhaps the most important aim of the Ancient Hindu System of Education. Any one who takes even a cursory view of the Hindu writings on the subject is impressed by the deep concern that was felt for the acquisition and preservation of the organised literary and cultural heritage of the race. Members of the professions were to train their children in their own lines, rendering available to the rising generation at the outset of its career all the skill and processes that were acquired after painful efforts of the by-gone generations. The services of the whole Aryan community were conscripted for the purpose of the preservation of the Vedic literature. Every *Dviija* must learn at least a portion of his sacred literary heritage. It was an incumbent duty on the priestly class to commit the Vedic literature to memory in order to ensure its transmission to unborn generations. It is true that not all the Brahmanas obeyed this injunction, but that was because they had the commonsense to realise that the services of their entire class were not necessary for the task. A section of the Brāhmaṇa community however was always available to sacrifice its life and talents in order to ensure the preservation of the sacred texts. Theirs was a life long and almost a tragic devotion to the cause of learning. For, they consented to spend their life in committing to memory what others and not they could interpret. Secular benefits that they could expect were

¹ *Tai. up.*, I, II

² [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

few, and not at all commensurate with the labour involved. Remaining sections of the Brāhmaṇa community were fostering the studies of the different branches of liberal education, like grammar, literature, poetics, law, philosophy and logic. Here the goal was avowedly cultural and not utilitarian. The aim was not to make money or find out lucrative careers, but to cultivate and develop the different branches of liberal studies. As a matter of fact Hindu thinkers disapprove of the idea that the value of liberal education should be judged by its pecuniary productivity. Viṣṇu warns that no spiritual benefit will accrue to a person in the life to come if he seeks to live on his learning in the present life.¹ Kālidāsa disapproves the conduct of a scholar, who seeks merely to make money out of his learning². His main concern ought to be to spread culture and knowledge and to fight for the establishment of truth.

A natural consequence of this anxiety for the preservation of the ancient heritage was to make education deep and thorough, rather than broad and many-sided. The heritage of the past was divided into different branches and different groups of study circles began to specialise in them. This made Hindu scholarship deep, but not without a loss in breadth to a certain extent.

Obedience to parents, proper respect to elders and teachers and gratitude to the savants of the bye-gone ages are natural consequences of the society's intense solicitude for the preservation of ancient culture and civilisation. Especially significant in this connection are the rules about the daily *Svādhyāya* and *Rṣi-tarpaṇa*, the former enjoining the recapitulation of at least a portion of what was learnt in the student life, and the latter requiring a daily tribute of gratitude to the literary giants of the bye-gone times.

In later times when Sanskrit became a dead language and the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and its ramifications were found to be too abstruse for the average man and woman, a new type of literature,—the Purāṇas—was evolved with a view to spread and popularise the national culture and civilisation among the masses. A section of the Brāhmaṇa community devoted itself to

¹ यश्च विद्यामासाद्यास्त्रिलोके तयः सहजवित्तं सा तस्य फलप्रदा भवति । Vi. Dh. S., 30-39.

² यस्यागमः केवलजीविकायै तं ज्ञानपण्यं वणिजं वदन्ति ।

the task of expounding daily the culture and gospel of the Purāṇas to the masses in their own vernaculars. As a consequence, many features of ancient culture came to be well known to and carefully preserved by even the illiterate sections of the society. The aim of the vernacular Bhakti poets of the middle ages was also the same, *viz*, the preservation and popularisation of ancient culture and religion.

The surprising amount of cultural uniformity that is to be seen even now over the length and breadth of India is largely due to the successful preservation of ancient culture and civilisation. If there are several features, common to Hindu life, all over the country, contributing to Hindu unity, credit has to be largely given to the Educational System which has produced uniformity in the culture and outlook on life of the Hindu community.

Friends and foes have alike admitted that the Hindu system of Education has been eminently successful in its aim of preservation of the ancient literary heritage. Very few of the Vedic works have been lost. It is indeed a wonder how so vast a literature could have been preserved without the help of writing for the task. Among later works too, the number of valuable books lost is not considerable. And here too the losses would have been practically insignificant if irreparable damages to temples and monasteries had not been caused at the time of the invasions of the Mahomadens and during their subsequent long rule.

We now proceed to consider the limitations and defects of the Ancient Indian System of Education.

Religion had immense hold over the Hindu mind and many of the admirable features of the Educational System have to be attributed to this circumstance, as shown already. But it was also the cause of certain defects that crept into the system.

The view that the hold of religion over the Hindu mind was responsible for making the education system predominantly 'other-worldly' is not true. *Vānaprastha* and *Saṃnyāsa* ideals were no doubt suggested by the theories about the life to come, but such was not the case with the theory and ideal of *Brahmacarya*. The education system aimed at producing youths eminently

fit to perform their civic and social duties; if any spiritual merit for the life to come were to be achieved through the Brahmacharya, it was to be through the proper performance of its duties, which however were principally determined with a view to make the student an efficient and God-fearing citizen.

The majority of teachers for higher education were priests in ancient India, as was the case in contemporary times all over the world. They did not exploit their position for promoting any selfish ends of their own, but they had natural limitations of their class. Under their supervision religious and semi-religious studies got undue predominance in the education curriculum. This phenomenon was not, however, confined to India; for in Europe too down to the mediæval times teachers were usually priests and the Bible, the sacred poets and the lives of the Saints dominated the curriculum.¹ Luther was the first to emphasise the necessity of giving proper attention to the needs of secular life by pointing out that even if there were neither soul, nor heaven nor hell, it would still be necessary to have schools for the affairs here below.

The real defect produced by the hold of religion over the Hindu mind was the tendency to hold Reason at a discount which became prominent a few centuries after the Christian era. Such was not the case in early times, when there was full intellectual freedom. Upaniṣadic thinkers advocate bold and divergent theories of philosophy and theology without showing the least anxiety to prove that their views were in line with those of their predecessors of the Vedic and Brahmanic times. There were as many as sixty three systems of philosophy in the days of the Buddha, and very few of them cared to rely on Vedic authority for their hypotheses or conclusions. Within the fold of the orthodoxy itself there were the Sāṃkhya, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya systems, which had hardly any appropriate place for the Divine Creator in them. Buddhism and Jainism were not summarily dismissed as atheistic; their scriptures were carefully studied in order to prove that they were unsound.

Unfortunately for the progress of learning and scholarship certain works came to be canonised some time about 600 B. C. Their authorship was attributed to divine or inspired agency and it was averred that what they contained could not be false,

¹ Monroe, *A Text-book of the History of Education*, p 351.

what they opposed could not be true. An almost equally high reverence came to be paid to the Smṛtis and Purāṇas in course of time. Theories began to be accepted or rejected according as they were in conformity with or opposed to the statements of the sacred books on the point. Intellectual giants like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja had to spend a disproportionate amount of time and energy to prove that their systems of philosophy were in conformity with and the natural outcomes of the Upaniṣadic hypotheses. If the hold of the Śrutis and Smṛtis were not so exacting, there would have been freer development of philosophy. At any rate many of the remarkable intellects of the middle ages would have found it possible to write independent works on their own systems of philosophy instead of being compelled to present it unsystematically, while engaged in the ostensible task of writing commentaries on the revealed literature. Instead of Nibandha compilations, we would have original Smṛtis of the later times.

Under such circumstances, there was not much scope left for research and originality in those matters where opinions were expressed in sacred text. A concrete case may be given to illustrate the point. In the infancy of astronomy, the eclipses were explained by the mythological stories about Rāhu and Ketu attacking and temporarily overpowering the moon and the sun. It was an evil day for the advance of astronomy when this mythological version got a canonical sanction by its inclusion in the Purāṇas. Hindu astronomers like Āryabhata, Brahmagupta and Varāhamihira knew the true cause of eclipses but felt powerless to carry vigorous propaganda to explode the popular and mythological explanation canonised by the Purāṇas. Nay, Brahmagupta, with a view to win cheap popularity, went to the extent of advocating that the popular view was correct, when he knew full well that such was not the case. In the first chapter of his *Brahma-siddhānta*, he gives both the popular and scientific theories about the eclipses, but advocates the cause of the former. "Some people think that the eclipse is not caused by the Head (of Rāhu or Ketu). This, however, is a foolish idea. The Veda, which is the word of God from the mouth of Brahman, says that the Head eclipses, likewise *Manusmṛti* and *Garga-saṁhitā*." ¹ What

is, however, most lamentable is that Brahmagupta, who knew full well the real cause of eclipses, should have proceeded to condemn Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira, Śrīṣeṇa and Viṣṇucandra for expounding the unorthodox but scientific theory that eclipses are caused by the shadow of the earth. It is important to note that Brahmagupta becomes guilty of intellectual and moral dishonesty because he was anxious to win cheap popularity by supporting the popular view that what was contained in the Vedas and Manusmṛti could not be untrue. It is interesting to note that Varāhamihira first combats the Rāhu-Ketu theory¹ but then immediately succumbs to it.² Āryabhaṭa alone has perhaps the courage to be consistent with his intellectual convictions. But he also only hints that the popular theory is wrong but does not dare to attack it openly.³ If the Rāhu-Ketu theory of eclipses has continued to retain its hold over the popular Hindu mind for the last 1500 years and more, in spite of [the scientific discovery of the true cause of eclipses, the reason is that Hindu scholarship of later times was too much in the leading strings of religion to carry on active propaganda against its hypotheses. The discontinuance of dissection in the medical training and the abandonment of agriculture by the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jains are also to be attributed to the hold of the progressively puritanical notions over the popular mind.⁴

It is, however, but fair to observe that in Europe too, Reason had to beat a hasty and precipitate retreat when in conflict with the dicta of scriptures down to the beginning of the modern age. Galileo had to suffer for his astronomical discoveries. Throughout the Middle Ages, educationalists were more anxious to impart traditional theories and formulæ than to train minds capable of

¹ *Brhat-saṃhitā*, v, 4 ff. यद्वि सूर्यो भविष्यति शिराऽथवा भवति मण्डली राहुः । भगार्थेनान्तरितो गृह्णाति कथं नियतचारः ॥ अथ भुजगेन्द्ररूपः पुच्छेन मुखेन वा स गृह्णाति । मुखपुच्छान्तःसंस्थं स्थगयति कस्मान्न भगणार्थम् ॥

² *Ibid*, v, 13 एवमुपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्यदृग्भिर्गचार्यैः । राहुः कारणमास्मिन्नित्युक्तः शास्त्र-सद्भावः ॥

forming their own conclusions. Mediæval philosophers and commentators were utilising reason only to prove that the scriptural hypotheses were correct. It was Luther who first vindicated the cause of reason by declaring that what is contrary to reason must be certainly much more contrary to God. But Luther too became a renegade towards the end of his life and declared, 'The more subtle and accurate is the reason, the more poisonous is the beast, with many Dragon's head is it against God and all his work'. The truth was that the Reformers were unwilling to concede to others the right to interpret scriptures, which they claimed for themselves. If therefore reason was at a discount in India from the beginning of the middle ages, (c. 500 A.D.) we must also note that the same was the case in Europe down to the beginning of the modern age. We should not further forget that reason was given full scope by the Hindu scholars and thinkers for more than about 1500 years, when it was superseded by the exigencies of the religious situation. The historian, however, cannot help regretting that supersession of reason should have taken place among a people, who had given full scope to it for several centuries.

Enrichment of the culture of the past along with its preservation continued to be the goal of the Indian educational system for several centuries. Intellect and reason were for a long time given full scope, originality was encouraged, and as a result we find remarkable creative activity in the domain of theology, philosophy, philology, grammar, logic, astronomy, mathematics, medicine etc. down to about 800 A. D. Indian achievements in many of these fields were remarkable, judged either by the contemporary or by the absolute standard. Scholars from China, Korea, Tibet and Arabia used to visit India in order to learn what she had to teach in the realms of religion, medicine, mathematics and astronomy.

Towards the beginning of the 9th century A. D., the creative vein in the Indian intellect got fatigued after an intense activity of more than 2000 years. Probably the heritage of the past became so great that all the ability of scholars was engrossed in preserving it. Probably the habit of looking back to the past for inspiration and guidance became so confirmed that it began to be

instinctively felt that not much could be expected from the present. The golden age of inspiration had gone, no new achievements were possible, the best that the age could do was to preserve, expound or comment upon the masterpieces of the past. Hindu educational system was unable to create minds powerful enough to rise above the influence of these theories. For the last one thousand years and more, the Hindu intellect has been almost solely engrossed in the task of writing digests and commentaries on the works of earlier periods. Creative activity has come to a standstill. Here also we have to add that the spirit of the times was unfavourable for the formation of independent minds and intellects both in the West and the East. In Europe too the Middle Ages were a period of intellectual repression. Renaissance and Reformation, however, started an era of intellectual independence and originality in Europe in the sixteenth century ; in India, on the other hand the foreign rule and its baneful consequences continued the spirit and atmosphere of the middle ages down to the time of the national reawakening towards the end of the 19th century.

Owing to its excessive reverence to the past, the Hindu mind ceased to be assimilative from about 800 A. D. Hindu sculptors assimilated Greek methods and enriched Indian art. Early astronomers like Aryabhata and Varāhamihira were keeping themselves in touch with the activities and achievements of the workers in the same field outside India. Varāhamihira pays even a handsome compliment to Greek astronomers and observers. The Greeks are no doubt Mlechhas (impure), but they are well grounded in astronomy and are therefore worshipped and honoured like the Rsis.¹ A remarkable change for the worse took place in the Hindu attitude towards foreign scholarship within a couple of centuries or so after Varāhamihira's death. Implicit faith in the past and in the correctness of its canonised tradition made the Hindu scholar narrow, bigoted and conceited. Of the Hindu men of letters of the 11th century A.D., Alberuni observes, " They are haughty, foolish, vain, stolid and self-conceited. According to their belief, there is no country on the earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs, and no created beings beside them that have any knowledge or science whatever.

Their haughtiness is such that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khūrāsān or Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation is.¹ In proof of the last assertion Alberuni quotes the tribute of Varāhamihira to Greek astronomers, quoted above.

Hindus in Alberuni's time had very good reason to feel a very deep prejudice against Muslim scholarship; Alberuni's picture may have been to some extent overdrawn. But the contemporary Hindu attitude towards the Śrutis, Smṛtis and Purāṇas and other works of the past, which has been discussed above, would show that Alberuni's account of the mentality of the contemporary Hindu scholar is substantially true. Hindu education had ceased to remove prejudices, explode superstitions and broaden the mind, so as to keep it capable of receiving instructions from all quarters by the beginning of the 10th century A. D. Hindu colonising activity, necessitating travel abroad, had also come to an end by this time. Some Hindu doctors are no doubt known to have proceeded to Baghdad at the invitation of Khalifa Harun (786 A. D. — 808 A. D.) to act as chief physicians in his hospitals;² we however do not know whether public opinion approved of their conduct, whether they returned home and were readmitted to the Hindu society. Foreign travel for the purpose of education and broadening of views became impossible when the sea voyage was prohibited. Whether it was undertaken in earlier days also is doubtful. There are no books in Sanskrit literature descriptive of geography, manners and climate of the countries adjacent to India. Nor do the Pauranic geographers seem to have been in touch with the traders and colonisers, who were familiar with Babylon, Arabia, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Burma and Borneo.

The skill in manual training and industrial arts was highly appreciated in early times. Liberal and useful knowledge was usually combined among high-class workers. Brāhmaṇas used to be skilled in mining and metallurgy, medical and military sciences. Weavers were often amateur students of literature, folk

¹ Sachau, Alberuni, I, pp. 22-23

² *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 31

3 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

lore, astronomy and the art of war. This combination of liberal and useful education became progressively rare after the Gupta age. The status of the Vaiśya became assimilated to that of the Śūdra as early as the 1st century A. D. and talented persons among the intellectual classes began to think it below their dignity to follow useful and industrial arts. The level of intelligence among the industrial classes became lowered down when their education became rigidly confined to the technique and processes of their own professions from about the 9th century A.D. As a natural consequence of such a state of affairs, the growth and development of the fine, useful and industrial arts became arrested in India from about the 9th century A. D. No advance is to be seen after that date in the realms of sculpture, painting, mining, surgery, etc. The old type of learning became stereotyped and it soon began to degenerate. It is true that India continued to retain her dominating position in the weaving industry down to the middle of the last century; but it is doubtful whether any progress was made in the technique or processes of manufacture since the days of Alberuni.

At the time when India was making rapid strides in the different domains of knowledge, her education was broad based. In ancient Athens one in ten and in ancient Sparta one in twenty five received education,¹ and women's education was altogether neglected. The case was much different in India down to the commencement of the Christian era. The Śūdras were excluded only from the Vedic studies and literacy was probably as high as 60 percent in the days of Asoka. Anxious thought and care was also bestowed on female education. Things, however, gradually changed for the worse in the first millennium of the Christian era. The education of women began to be neglected. Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas became progressively illiterate. It is true that in Europe also the masses were little more than barbarous and took more naturally to warfare than to schooling down to the end of the Middle Ages. We can, however, hardly derive any consolation from this comparison for the prevalent illiteracy in India was due to a degeneration from a more creditable condition, obtaining in earlier centuries.

¹ Munroe, *A Text Book*, pp. 26, 29.

Hindu educational system was unable to stop this deterioration probably because of its concentration on Sanskrit and neglect of the vernaculars. The revival of Sanskrit that took place early in the first millennium was undoubtedly productive of much good; it immensely enriched Sanskrit literature in its various branches. But when the best minds became engaged in expressing their thoughts in Sanskrit, Prakrits were naturally neglected. As long as Sanskrit was intelligible to the ordinary individual, this was not productive of much harm. But from about the 9th or the 10th century A. D. Prakrits and vernaculars became widely differentiated from Sanskrit and those who were using them began to find it difficult to understand the latter language. Hindu educational thinkers did not realise the importance of developing Prakrit literature in the interest of the man on the street. Alberuni observes, "The language in India is divided into a *neglected vernacular one*, only in use among the common people, and a classical one only in use among the upper and educated classes, which is much cultivated."¹ We no doubt come across a few cases from the 13th century onwards where provision was made for the teaching of Telugu, Canarese and Marathi in some of the schools and colleges of South India, but the general impression produced by a survey of the educational system and institutions is that society was not alive to the importance of the teaching and development of vernaculars in the interest of the spread of education among the masses. Things in India were however quite on a par with what they were in contemporary Europe, where Latin continued to be the medium of instruction down to the 17th century A. D. India however could have been much in advance of the world ideas in this matter if the impetus that was given to the cultivation of vernaculars by the two gifted Seers, Mahāvira and the Buddha, had not died down owing to the revival of Sanskrit.

Hindu education was thorough, but it was not sufficiently broad. Each branch was thinking of its own problems. Educationalists do not seem to have bestowed much thought on the

¹ *Ibid*, p. 261.

* Sachau, I, p. 18.

relative utility of the study of the different branches like grammar, literature, logic, philosophy, mathematics and fine arts for the development of the intellect. Specialisation was started too early. A broad based secondary course embracing a study of grammar, literature, mathematics, astronomy and history did not exist. An undue emphasis was laid on grammar, literature and logic at the cost of history, mathematics and astronomy. Here again the impartial historian has to point out that this defect of the Hindu Educational system was not peculiar to India but was to be seen all over the civilised world. In Europe all the energies of teachers and students were concentrated on grammar, rhetoric and dialectics down to the 13th century, only that much knowledge of arithmetic was given which was necessary to calculate the church festivals. Natural sciences were introduced very reluctantly only by the middle of the last century.¹

Some of the defects noted above like the neglect of the education of the women and the masses crept in the Hindu Educational System only in later times, others like the non-existence of a broad-based secondary course and the neglect of the vernaculars were common to all the contemporary systems. The twentieth century critic often forgets that the west has gone on progressing rapidly during the last 300 years owing to the impetus it has received from the Renaissance, Reformation and the Scientific Movement, while India has gone on deteriorating ever since 1000 A. D. owing to the almost continuous foreign rule and its natural consequences. Our Muslim brethren no doubt became domiciled in India, but they were unable to appreciate and encourage Hindu culture and education. The effects of the Muslim rule on the learning and scholarship of the Hindus can be described in the words of a Muslim himself. While describing the state of Hindu learning after the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni. Alberuni observes, 'The present times are not of this kind; they are the very opposite, (because there is no royal support of encouragement to learning) and therefore it is quite impossible that a new science or any new kind of research should arise in our days. *What we have of sciences*

¹ In Germany science was introduced in secondary education in 1816 A. D. When the Royal Commission on Education apologetically pleaded for the inclusion of science in the secondary course in 1856, 10 or 12 lectures began to be given annually in some of the Public Schools in England. Faculty of Science was established in London University only in 1860.

is but the scanty remains of bygone better times.'¹ Bernier, while, describing the state of Hindu education in Benares towards the middle of the 17th century, observes, "Students stay for ten or twelve years during which the work of instruction proceeds but slowly. ... Feeling no spirit of emulation and entertaining no hope that honour or emoluments may be the reward of extraordinary attainments as with us, the scholars pursue the studies slowly, without much to distract their attention: ' The Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee, Education Commission, 1882, observes. "The Mahomaden conquest proved disastrous to all indigenous educational institutions. The proprietary rights in land changed hands, ... the language of the court was changed. Indigenous learning lost most of its support; and after the classes had settled down the well-to-do classes of the Hindus took gradually to the cultivation of foreign language, literature and manners. The *toles* were more and more deserted and left to those only who wanted to learn the Hindu rituals. ... In course of time the Mussalman teachers and schools drew off the largest portion of the upper and the middle classes of the community and the *toles* and the *pāṭhaśālās* either died or barely managed to survive."²

It is therefore hardly fair to compare 'the scanty remains of bye-gone better times' with the tremendous advance the West has made during the last century and half under very favourable circumstances.³ The impartial historian will have to note that in the heyday of her glory, education in India was broad-based, women and a large section of the masses being admitted to its privileges and advantages. It was able to develop character and personality, inculcate civic virtues and turn out citizens well qualified to follow their professions and discharge their duties

¹ Sachau, I; p. 252

² The historically correct procedure would be to compare Hindu Sanskrit learning at the advent of the British rule with the scholarship of the Christian monks who kept the lamp of learning burning during the Dark Ages. If such a comparison is instituted, India will have nothing to be afraid of.

in life. It was not only able to preserve the heritage of the past but also to enrich it from generation to generation. The general principles, which underlay the system, -like intellectual freedom, individual attention to students, the monitorial system, the *guru-kula* ideal, plain living and high thinking, mass education, combination of useful and liberal education, etc.-are inherently sound and capable of yielding excellent results even in modern times, if applied with due regard to changed circumstances.

THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀ-
BHĀRATA : ĀDIPARVAN

BY

PROFESSOR M. WINTERNITZ

The Ādiparvan, in Dr. Sukthankar's Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata,¹ is now complete, and I have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max Müller's edition of the R̥gveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary. And I can repeat now, when this volume of 1115 quarto pages lies before me, with all the greater assurance, what I said in my paper read at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, in 1928, when only the first fascicule of 60 pages had appeared: "The critical edition of which we now see the beginning will contain a text infinitely superior to any of the editions that are available at present. And not only that. As the edition will be accompanied by a complete *apparatus criticus*, and all spurious passages will be found either in the critical notes or in the Appendices, the student of the Great Epic will henceforth always be able to form his own opinion, as he will, in each special case, have the whole Ms. tradition before him."²

At least for the Ādiparvan, the student of the Great Epic is now, and only now for the first time, able to rely for his studies on a really critical edition, based on an extensive and carefully selected Ms. material, coming from all parts of India.

¹ The Ādiparvan being the First Book of the Mahābhārata the Great Epic of India for the first time critically edited by Viśhnu S. Sukthankar, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933. — The Mahābhārata For the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar with the Co-operation of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi; S. K. Belvalkar; A. B. Gajendragadkar; P. V. Kane; R. D. Karmarkar; V. G. Paranjpe; V. K. Rajavade; N. B. Utgikar; P. L. Vaidya; V. P. Vaidya; M. Winternitz; R. Zimmermann, S. J. and other Scholars and Illustrated from Ancient Models by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi Ruler of Aundh. Volume 1. Pages cxviii + 997, 4°.

² Indologica Pragensia I, 1929, p. 62.

The last fascicule (7), which has just been published, contains the Appendices and Prolegomena. Appendix I includes the longer passages found in different recensions, versions, or single Mss., and excluded from the constituted text as interpolated, while the shorter interpolations have been given in the footnotes along with the text. Only a small number of short, but unimportant passages are also given in the Appendix. Appendix II is a very instructive list of Sanskrit excerpts culled from the Javanese version of the *Ādiparvan*, compared with the Critical Edition, the Calcutta Edition, and P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri's edition of the Southern Recension. A comparatively small list of "Addenda et Corrigenda" follows. The second half of the fascicule comprises the *Prolegomena* (113 pages).

In these "Prolegomena" Dr. Sukthankar gives a full and clear account of the Mss., their classification, and the principles followed in the constitution of the text.

The manuscript material is naturally classified according to the scripts in which they are written, the different scripts corresponding on the whole to different provinces. The two main recensions of the Epic, Northern and Southern, are written in Northern and Southern scripts respectively. But each of these recensions is again divided in a number of "versions", corresponding to the different provincial scripts in which the Mss. are written. For the Northern recension, manuscripts have been collated in *Śāradā*, *Nepālī*, *Maithilī*, *Bengalī* and *Devanāgarī* scripts; for the Southern recension, manuscripts in *Malayālam*, *Grantha* and *Telugu* scripts.

Of course, the number of the *Mahābhārata* Mss. is legion. And some scholars have objected to the plan of preparing a critical edition, when it was first proposed, that with such a huge number of Mss. the preparation of a critical edition of the text was simply impossible. But on an examination of a considerable number of Mss., it was soon found that it was quite unnecessary to utilize all Mss. in existence for preparing the text of the *Mahābhārata*. There exist about 235 Mss. of the *Ādiparvan*, as far as they have become known to the Editor either from catalogues or through private owners of Mss. But though it is true that no two Mss. are entirely identical, as every copyist claims the right of making

his own mistakes or indulging in paltry alterations of the text or even of interpolating a śloka or two here and there, yet on the whole the deviations between Mss. belonging to one class are so insignificant that it would be a more than useless overburdening of the *apparatus criticus* and a mere encumbrance, if the different readings of all available Mss. were given.

As Dr. Sukthankar has shown, and as I know from my own experience, five or six Mss. of one class are generally sufficient to establish the text of the special version represented by that class of Mss. The large number of Devanāgarī Mss. is especially due to the popularity of Nilakanṭha's version. And when the text of that version is once established, it would be useless to collate all Mss. giving this version. Great is also the number of what Dr. Sukthankar calls "misch-codices", that is, Mss. which give the text not of one particular version, but a mixture of readings belonging to different versions and even recensions. They are of little value for the constitution of the text. In short, the Editor had to attach more importance to the quality than to the quantity of Mss. Nevertheless, of the 235 Mss. of the Ādiparvan about 70 were fully or partly examined and collated for the critical edition, and the *critical apparatus* gives, for the first two Adhyāyas (which are of special importance) the readings of 50, for the rest of the Book those of 38 Mss. Besides the Mss., the commentaries were also used wherever available.

The best known commentary is that of Nilakanṭha. But it so happens that he is neither the oldest nor the best commentator, nor is his text the most reliable. As Kullūka has had the unmerited good fortune that his commentary of the Manusmṛti has become most popular, though it is much inferior to all the other commentaries, similarly Nilakanṭha is shown by Dr. Sukthankar (p. LXV ff.) to be not only the latest, but also the most unreliable commentator. His text " has acquired in modern times an importance out of all proportion to its critical value." The oldest commentary seems to be that of Devabodha, on which Arjunamiśra's commentary is largely based (p. LXX). Nilakanṭha refers to Devabodha, whom he calls "ancient" (prācīna), Vimalabodha, Arjunamiśra, Ratnagarbha and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa. While Arjunamiśra's text is closely related to the

Bengali version, that of Devabodha seems to have much in common with the Śāradā (Kāśmīrī) version, though we cannot be quite certain, because Devabodha's commentary is not accompanied by the epic text.

Dr. Sukthankar has shown (pp. XLVII ff.) that the Kāśmīrian Śāradā version is the shortest, containing less spurious matter than any of the other versions. He has, therefore, taken it "as the norm " for his edition. Its superiority to other versions is also proved by archaisms and *lectiones difficiliores* which it has retained. Not only the Kāśmīrian version, but also the Bengali text is a better representative of the Northern recension than the text of Nilakaṇṭha, which is mainly identical with the so-called " Vulgate ", the text of the Calcutta and Bombay editions.

Compared with the Śāradā text, which Dr. Sukthankar would designate as a "textus simplicior ", the Southern recension offers a longer, fuller, and more exuberant text, which is therefore styled by the Editor the "textus ornatioer ". In those parts, however, which are not affected by this tendency towards inflation and elaboration, the text proves purer and more archaic than the Northern recension, and often agrees with the Śāradā version where it differs from other Northern versions.

Professor P. P. S. Sastrī, the editor of the Southern Recension, has concluded from this, that "the Southern Recension is the more authentic and reliable version".¹ And as the Āndhra Rhāratamu, the Telugu adaptation of the Telugu poet Nannaya Bhaṭṭa (ca. A.D. 1022) agrees on the whole with our present Southern Mss., and as the Javanese adaptation (ca. A.D. 996) is said by Prof. Sastrī to follow the Southern recension, he concludes that this was "perhaps the only Recension that was current in India before the 9th century A. D. " Accordingly he considers all the passages which are found only in the Southern recension, to be authentic and to have been omitted in the Northern recension, which represents "a mutilated and hastily put together composition of the Middle Indian Redactors" (l. c. p. VIII).

Whatever may be the source of other Parvans of the Javanese adaptation—the question requires much further investigation—,

¹ The Mahābhārata (Southern Recension) critically ed. by P. P. S. Sastrī, Vol. II, Ādi parvan, Part II, pp. V ff.

the Ādiparvan is shown by Dr. Sukthankar (p. XXVI) to be more in agreement with the Northern Mss. So it cannot prove anything for the authenticity of the Southern recension " before the 9th century A. D. " Also the hypothesis that the Northern recension represents a " mutilated " text has been proved by Dr. Sukthankar to be utterly untenable. There is not the slightest reason for assuming that the Śārada text is an abridged version. Copyists of the epic text have never found it too long ; on the contrary they were always inclined to enlarge their text by any matter found in other local versions accessible to them. Professor P. P. S. Sastri still attaches, as my late lamented friend Mr. Utgikar did, importance to the Parvasaṃgraha argument. But Dr. Sukthankar has proved the futility of this argument, as the text of the Parvasaṃgraha has been tampered with in the different versions (pp. XCVII ff.).

We have, therefore, nothing to go upon for the constitution of the critical text except a careful study of the manuscript tradition. We have no means of tracing the text of the Mahābhārata back to the time when it consisted only of real epic songs which were transmitted orally by bards. We can take it for granted, however, that already these early bards or rhapsodists took every possible liberty with their texts, as in later times the copyists did.¹ In the 4th or 5th century A. D. there were, however, already manuscripts of the Mahābhārata in existence, and the Mahābhārata was at that time not only a Kāvya, but also a Smṛti which in an early inscription is already styled " the collection of a hundred thousand verses " (*śatasāhasrī saṃhitā*.) About 600 A. D. manuscripts of the Epic existed already in distant Cambodia.² Now the earliest manuscript that the Editor of the Ādiparvan could get hold of is a Nepālī Ms. that was probably written about A. D. 1395, whilst the majority of Mss. were written only in the last two or three centuries.

A study of these Mss. with their huge mass of variants, of differences in sequence, of additions and omissions of which the critical apparatus bears witness, has convinced Dr. Sukthankar

¹ Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, Calcutta 1927, p. 466.

² See Winternitz, l. c. pp. 463 ff.

that for many centuries "there was a free comparison of manuscripts and extensive mutual borrowings," extending also to Mss. of different recensions (p. LXXIX).

From all this it follows that the text of the Mahābhārata has been in a fluid state from the very beginning, and this means that a wholly satisfactory restoration even of the śata-sāhasrī samhita, to say nothing of an "Ur-Mahābhārata," is impossible (p. LXXXII). What then is possible? This question is clearly answered by the Editor (p. XXXVI): It is only possible, "to reconstruct the oldest form of the text which it is possible to reach on the basis of the manuscript material available," abstaining "from effecting any change which is not in some measure supported by manuscript authority."

For anyone acquainted with Mahābhārata Mss. there cannot be the least doubt that "the Mahābhārata problem is a problem *sui generis*,"¹ and that therefore the ordinary methods of textual criticism cannot be applied to it. The peculiar conditions of the transmission of the Epic necessitate "an eclectic but cautious utilization of all manuscript classes" (p. LXXXV f.).

From this main principle are derived the details of the method followed, and clearly set out by the Editor (pp. LXXXVI ff.).

Of course, our full approval of the general principles followed by the Editor, does not imply that we agree with him in every detail of the constituted text. Both I myself and other critics have already referred to passages where we should prefer other readings.² I may be allowed to add here a few more passages in which I differ from the Editor. They are passages which I have come across in reading parts of the critical edition with my pupils in our Indological "Seminar" from time to time.

1, 3, 60 b (in the hymn to the Āsvins): *vā* should be omitted according to the principle that agreement between K and S warrants the better text, for KoN: S omit it. Besides it disturbs

¹ See already Sukthankar in JBBRAS (NS) 4, p. 157 and ABI XI, p. 262.

² Of, for instance, Ind. Prag. I, 65; F. Edgerton in JAOS 48, 1928, 798 ff.; H. Weller in ZII 6, 1928, p. 167; 7, 1929, p. 94; and J. Charpentier in OLZ 1932, 275 ff.; 1934, 253 ff. and see also Sukthankar, Epic Studies I JBBRAS (NS) 4. 158 ff.; II, ABI XI, 167 ff.; III, ABI XI, 277 ff.

the metre, and the sense. See already H. Weller in Zeitschr. f. Indol. u. Iran. 7, p. 94.

1, 3, 145 c: The correct form *nyarasatām* is given by the Kāśmīrian transcript K₁, by the Maithili and Bengali Mss., by Arjunamiśra, and by some Southern Mss., while Ko. 2-4 D₅ read *nivasato*. Nilakaṇṭha reads *ca vasatām*. I am not sure that the Ms. evidence justifies the reading *nivasatām*, though this is also the reading of P. P. S. Sastri's edition of the Southern recension.

1, 3, 183 c: The majority of the N Mss. read *me kim*; Ko *mām kim*, K₂ *mām yat*, B₄ S *kiṁ vā*. The reading adopted in the text seems to be only found in K₁. 3. 4. The *vā* is quite useless after *prabrūhi*. Both *prabrūhi me kim* (or *prabrūhi nām kim*), and *prabrūhi kiṁ vā* are better. I should prefer *me kim*.

1, 55, 3: The Kāśmīrian version including the Śāradā Ms., which has been "taken as the norm for this edition" (p. XLVII), reads : *śrotṛpātraṁ ca rājāṁś tvām prāpya* and seems to me better Sanskrit. The reading is also supported by Devabodha and the Nepālī version. But the whole verse seems to suffer from an early corruption, and deserves waved lines.

1, 56, 8: If anywhere, waved lines seem indicated for this verse. The Śāradā Ms. is missing here, K₁ omits the verse. The other Mss. read :

<i>vinirjitaṁ dyūte</i>	K 2. 4 D ₂	
<i>vinirjitā dyūte</i>	Ko D ₅	
<i>vyasaninaṁ dyūte</i>	most N Mss.	
<i>vyatikramaṁ dyūte</i>		} S Mss.
<i>vyatikramadyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikramadyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikramo dyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikrame dyūte</i>		
<i>vyatikramadyūte</i>		

In the second line also the Mss. differ widely in their readings. The reading *vyasaninam* is not only supported by better Ms. evidence, but gives also a very good sense: I do not believe that we should go so far to adopt a reading only because it is a *lectio difficilior*. We have either, following N, to read *vyasaninam*, or following S: *vyatikramadyūte* in the sense of "false game."

I, 57, 20 b: I see no reason why we should not read *kriyate-bhyucchrayo*; the Mss. have °*tyucchrayo* and °*bhyucchrayo*; *ati* for *abhi* is a frequent mistake in Mss. Su. seems to think that the irregular Sandhi *kriyate ucchrayo* (as he prints by emendation) gives the explanation for the various readings, which I doubt.

I, 57, 21 b: *hāsyarūpeṇa śaṁkaraḥ* is no doubt the *lectio difficilior*, but it is far from certain and should at least have a waved line. Śaṁkara as a name of Indra is not known otherwise.

I, 57, 58 c: The reading *dṛśyator* (pass. part. praes. with active ending) is no doubt the *lectio difficilior*, but it seems to be found only in K (Ś₁ is missing for this *adhyāya*), and in part of the S Mss. Would it not be advisable to state in such cases exceptionally, on what authority the adopted reading rests? All the other N Mss. have the reading *dṛśṭayor*. The Grantha Mss. and P. P. S. Sastri's edition (I, 53, 116) have quite a different reading.

I, 91, 3 c: The reading *rūjarṣayo āsan* seems to me a very unhappy "emendation". The N Mss. read *rūjarṣayo hyāsan*, so also P. P. S. Sastri's edition of S; while Sukthankar's S Mss. read *tatra rūjarṣayas sarve* or *rūjarṣayas tathā sarve*. I think, we have here only one of those numerous palpable variations, which need no explanation by a *lectio difficilior*. I should certainly read *hyāsan*.

I, 91, 6 a: As nearly all Mss. read *sopadhyāto*, I can see no reason, why we should read *apadhyāto* with 3 inferior Mss. There is no objection to the repeated *sa* before *mahābhiṣaḥ*, if we do not prefer to read *tu* (on the authority of a great part of N Mss.).

I, 91, 8 cd: Here the reading *manasādhyāyam* has been adopted on the authority of Ś₁ alone, while N reads *dhyāyantī* and S *dhyātvā*. Su. is probably right in choosing the *lectio difficilior*, the rare absolutivum *ādhyāyam*. He is probably also right in giving the *lectio difficilior upāvarat* of N against *upāvṛttā* of S. But the waved line would seem to me more appropriate for °*dhyāyam* (reading of only one Ms.) than for *upāvarat* (reading of all N Mss.).

I, 92, 2 b: Here Su. adopts the reading *Gaṅgā śrīriva rūpiṇī* of Ś₁ K₁, against the reading of all other N Mss. *Gaṅgā strirūpa-*

dhāriṇī, which seems to me better. The same Mss. Ś₁K₁ have in c *śayanāt* for *sahāt* of all the other Mss., which is rejected. Why should Ś₁ K₁ in the first line be of greater authority than in the second line?

I, 92, 7 d: The reading in the text seems to be only found in V₁. The other N Mss. read :

<i>divyām kanyām varastriyam</i>	„	Ñ ² B ₅ m Da Dn D ₁ . 5
<i>rājan kām्यām</i>	„	Ś ₁ Ko-2. 4
<i>rājan divyām</i>	„	K ₃
<i>divyām kām्यām</i>	„	N ₁ . 3.

The epithet *kanyā* seems not very appropriate for Gaṅgā. It is, of course, possible, that for this very reason other readings may have been substituted in the Mss. (The Southern rec. has an entirely different pāda : *dehī kāmam varastriyah.*) But if the Śāradā text is to be taken as a “norm,” why should its reading be rejected here?

I, 92, 45 c: Here Su. reads *na ca tām kimcanovāca*, with the majority of the N Mss., though Ś₁K have the better reading *sa* for *ca*. If we read *ca*, *ca* would have to be translated by “but”. S has a different reading. I think, we should not exaggerate the principle of preferring the *lectio difficilior*, especially when we have the Śāradā Ms., the “norm,” as evidence for the better reading.

I, 92, 50 a: The “emendation” *aṣṭeme* does not seem to me justified in any way. The Kāśmīrian Mss. read *aṣṭau me*, the Bengali Mss. *aṣṭau ye*, the other N Mss. *imeṣṭau*, S *aṣṭau hi*. (P. P. S. Sastri’s edition, however, I, 91, 13, has *ime’ ṣṭau*.) I cannot see, how *aṣṭeme* should be the source of the other readings. If we do not adopt the easier reading of the majority of the N Mss., we can follow the Kāśmīrian Mss., reading *aṣṭau me*, which is quite possible: “The eight Vasus etc. have of me (in my body) ... on account of Vasiṣṭha’s curse obtained birth as human beings.”

I, 93, 1 d: Why *mānuṣīm tanum āgatāh*, which is only found in very few unimportant Mss.? The evidence is divided between *mānuṣīm yonim ā°*, supported by three N versions and the S recension, and *mānuṣatvam upāgatāh*, the reading of the Kāśmīrian version and of Arjunamiśra. The evidence is more in favour of *mānuṣīm yonim*, but also *mānuṣatvam upā°* is justifiable.

I, 93, 8 b: The evidence of the Mss. is almost equally divided between *abhivīṣṛutā* and *abhiṣaditā*, the first being preferable because it is supported both by N and S. The reading of the text *atigarvitā* is, as it seems, only found in Ś₁, is less suitable, but can hardly be called a "*lectio difficilior*."

I, 93, 11 d: Here Su. adopts the reading of the Kāśmīrian and Nepalese Mss.: *devadevarṣisevitam*. The other N Mss. and the S recension have *devā devarṣisevitam* which is decidedly better. For the hermitages are frequented by "divine Ṛṣis," not by "gods and divine Ṛṣis", *devāḥ* belongs to *vasavaḥ*. Even apart from that I should attach greater importance to the agreement between three N versions and S, than to that between two N versions, even if one is the Kāśmīrian. In the very next verse:

I, 93, 12 d, where the Kāśmīrian Mss. alone read *vaneṣūpavaneṣu*, the reading of the other Mss. *parvateṣu vaneṣu* is given even without waved lines. Why should Ś₁ K be of greater authority in verse 11 than in verse 12?

I, 214, 9 a: The "emendation" *atiprītyā* for *hyatiprītyā* is really unnecessary, for *hi* which is found in all N Mss., including Ś₁, occurs so frequently as an expletive in the epic that an emendation is out of place, even if some S Mss. have *api* for *hi*.

I, 215, 2 d: Both in verse 2 and in verse 5 the Kāśmīrian and some other Mss. read *°yacchatām* for *°yaccha'am*, the only possible form. Yet our text gives *prayacchalām* in verse 2, and in verse 5 the correct form.

I, 216, 10 a: The reading *yat* (Ś₁ K₁.₃ N₁ D₁ T₃ G₂₋₆) is impossible, referring to the masc. *ratham*. P. P. S. Sastri's edition reads *yam* in the text, and notes *yat* as the reading of two (Grantha) Mss. The correct reading *yam* is given by the majority of the N Mss., and by M, the best representative of S.

I, 218, 14 d: There is a great variety of readings. But the reading *jaladhūrāsamākulān* in nearly all N Mss., including Ś₁, makes good sense, as also the reading of S, *jaladhūrāmuco 'tulān*. I am at a loss to see why the reading जलधारासुचोऽकुलान्, which, apart from the bad Sandhi, makes also bad sense, is given in the text.

I, 218, 27 : Why *vyātiṣṭhanta* on the authority of S₁K₁ ? The correct reading *vyatiṣṭhanta* is the reading of the majority of N and S Mss. The authority of Ś₁ K₁ and V₁ was not strong enough for adopting the reading *hataujasaḥ*, not even for a waved line under *mahaujasah* in the same verse. ¹

These remarks do not touch the general principles adopted by the Editor. Thus, it is certainly a sound principle that in very doubtful cases, when other tests fail, that reading should be chosen " which best explains how the other readings may have arisen," and that " this will often be a *lectio difficilior* " (p. XCII). But it seems to me that this principle has been carried too far by the Editor in some cases.

When I object to emendations in a few cases, I do not mean to say that the principle on which emendations are resorted to by the Editor is wrong (pp. XCII-XCIV).

The preference given to the Kāśmīrian (Śāradā) version is, no doubt, justified. While stating, however, that the Śāradā version " is certainly the best Northern version and probably, taken as a whole, the best version of the Ādi ", Dr. Sukthankar yet admits that " this version is, not by any means, entirely free from corruptions and interpolations " (p. LVI). Consequently he has himself found it necessary, sometimes to reject the readings of Ś K, and if I do so in some cases where he has adopted the Kāśmīrian reading, I do not differ from him in the general valuation of the Kāśmīrian version. The agreement between the Kāśmīrian and the Southern versions is no doubt a great indication for originality, because it is an agreement between independent versions, or as Dr. Sukthankar sometimes cautiously expresses it (see p. XCI) " more or less independent versions ". For there has been mutual influencing also between recensions and versions, which on the whole may be called " independent ". The Telugu Mss. are always, and the Grantha Mss. often con-

¹ I may add here a few errors, probably misprints, which I have come across, and which are not mentioned among the "Errata", Page 417, 940* Is *nanu* misprint for *na tu*, as P. P. S. Sastri's edition reads? For *nanu* makes no sense. — Page 421, 953 * d ; For *samapadyata* read *sama-paśyata* ? — Page 846; foot-notes to I, 217, 1 a ; Should it not be *rathisreṣṭhau* for *ratha* ? — Page 849, foot-notes to I, 218, 2nd read *prācchādayad ameyātmā*.

taminated from Northern sources (p. LXX f.). The best representative of the Southern recension is no doubt that of Malabar. My own experience fully agrees in this respect with that of Dr. Sukthankar (p. LXXIII f.). But even the striking agreement between M and Ś₁ may not always be entirely due to their being independently preserved from the original text. Both Kāśmīr and Malabar have for long been chosen homes of Sanskrit learning and Brahmanical culture, and there was intercourse between the learned Brahmins of the two so distant countries.¹ That Kāśmīrian Brahmins came to the Carnatic even in the times of Bukka Rāya, we know from an inscription which records the gift of a village by this king's great minister Mādhava "on Kāśmīr Brahmins, pre-eminent by their virtues and the country of their birth, travellers to the farthest point of the Cārāyaṇīya aticaraṇāmnāya"². Nevertheless, if it should finally be proved that Kāśmīrian Brahmins have at some time brought Mahābhārata Mss. with them to the South, it is all the more remarkable that, while the Kāśmīrian and the Southern versions so often agree in their readings, they do not agree as regards the additions peculiar to these versions. This is indeed a strong argument "for the primitive character of their concordant readings" (p. LV).

The greatest differences of opinion will naturally arise with regard to those readings which the Editor has marked as "less than certain" by a waved line printed below them, because the balance of manuscript evidence is equally divided between the different versions, especially between the N and S recensions. This is often a matter of subjective opinion. Some reader will think that a waved line was not necessary in one case, while he would put a waved line in another case where it is not found. As in every case the whole manuscript evidence is given in the footnotes, and the reader can see by himself that a reading is "less than certain," I am not sure, if these waved lines, which no doubt

¹ Cf. Rao Sahib S. Paramesvara Aiyar and P. K. Narayana Pillai in "A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Trivandrum (1934), pp. 73, 104 ff.

² *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VII, pp. 38, 256 f.

are a proof of the extreme conscientiousness of the Editor, could not in future be dispensed with.

In his scrupulous conscientiousness Dr. Sukthankar has also stated the unavoidable shortcomings of the constituted text in such strong terms,¹ that some reader of the Prolegomena may ask himself in despair, if there is anything certain at all in the text of the Mahābhārata, and if the attempted text reconstruction was worth the immense trouble and labour. A well-meaning critic has indeed once proposed, in order to save the Editor all the trouble, to print simply "the best manuscript extant," adding the variants of all the other Mss. which have been collated. Not a word need be added to what Dr. Sukthankar has said (pp. LXXXIV ff.) with regard to this and similar proposals.

The fact is, in spite of all the difficulties in the way of text reconstruction—difficulties which an editor naturally sees far more clearly than any critic could—the case is not quite as desperate as it might appear in view of these difficulties. There is, after all, a considerable part of the text where the Northern and the Southern recensions are in full agreement, where there are no variants at all, or—more frequently—only unimportant variants. Only as a specimen, Dr. Sukthankar has selected a hundred such stanzas (pp. LXXXVIII ff.), but their number could be easily augmented, if greater latitude is allowed with regard to "unimportant" variations. These passages which are handed down more or less uniformly in all manuscripts of the different versions, will be of the greatest importance for a future study of epic style and diction. Years ago Adolf Holtzmann published a pamphlet "*Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*" (Leipzig 1884), in which he tried to collect all the archaisms and solecisms found in the Mahābhārata text, that is, in the Vulgate which alone was then available. This was an impossible task at that time.² Only now, when we have at least the critical edition of one Parvan, a

¹ For instance when he says (p. CII) "The Mahābhārata is the whole of the epic tradition: the entire Critical Apparatus. Its separation into the constituted text and the critical notes is only a static representation of a constantly changing epic text"

² Apart from this, the pamphlet is full of mistakes, as I have shown in my review (*Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* 10. 1884, 307 f.; 11, 1885, 23 f.). Today it is quite useless.

beginning can be made with collecting materials for an "epic grammar." Only now we have something to go upon, when we want to know the peculiarities of epic style and grammar.

For there cannot be the least doubt that the text of the Ādiparvan, as we have it now before us, is nearer to the original Śatasahasrikā than any one manuscript of whatsoever recension and version, and than any of the previous editions. Above all, it has been possible, not on any subjective grounds, but on the clear evidence of the manuscripts themselves, to purge the text of numerous later additions, spurious ślokas and long passages.

To many Hindus it will be a surprise, if not a shock, that there should be so many interpolations in the Ādiparvan, viz. 121 long passages in the Appendix, and 1634 short passages included in the foot-notes. Yet the evidence of the manuscripts leaves no doubt of their spuriousness. Many of them are only found in two or three late and inferior Mss. A great many of these passages are absurd, childish, contradicting of the immediate context, or else palpable additions. But not a few are written in the same style and diction as the rest of the epic with such skill, that they could not be detected as spurious, if they were not found to be so by the manuscript evidence. Yet I hardly believe that even one of these 1755 passages relegated to the Appendix or the foot-notes, will be found to be a real loss to the epic as poetry.

No doubt many a Hindu reader will object to the exclusion of certain passages which he was wont to read in his Mahābhārata, the Northerner in the Northern or the Southerner in the Southern recensions. Dr. Sukthankar himself has drawn attention (p.LX f.) to the dramatic scene at the Svayamvara of Draupadī, where Karna is rejected by Draupadī as a suitor on account of his low birth. Many readers will not like to miss this scene in the text. But there can be no doubt about the spuriousness of this passage, as it is not found in the Śāradā, in the Bengali and in the Southern versions. And Dr. Sukthankar shows "that the loss of the epic is not as serious as one might, at first, suppose, since it is a palpably faked and thoroughly unreal situation."

There will no doubt also be readers who will miss the *Kaṇikāniti* (Appendix I, No. 81 = I, 140 in the Bombay edi-

tion), this racy piece of Macchiavellian teaching put in the mouth of the "minister" Kaṇika. It has been relegated to the Appendix by the Editor on the authority of the Kāśmīrian version alone, along with four other passages which are also found in all Mss. except the Kāśmīrian. Kaṇika or Kaṇinka Bhāradvāja is the name of a teacher of Niti quoted by Kauṭilya (p. 253 in Sharnasastriy's 2nd Ed.). Dr. Gaṇapati Śastry, in his commentary on the passage, ¹ relates an anecdote about this Kaṇinka, in which he is said to have lived at the court of a king of Kosala. In the Śāntiparvan (Mahābh. XII, 140, Bomb. Ed.) a conversation between Śatruñjaya, a King of Sauvīra, and the Ṛṣi Bhāradvāja is related, in which Bhāradvāja gives the king a piece of advice on polity. In the colophon the piece is called "Kaṇikopadeśa." ² Dr. Sukthankar (p. LI.) describes the Kaṇikanīti in the Mss. of the Ādiparvan (Bomb. Ed. I, 140) as a "replica" of the Kaṇikopadeśa in the Śāntiparvan. I should prefer to call it another recension of the Kaṇikopadeśa. The Kaṇikanīti in the Ādiparvan contains 65 nīti ślokaś, besides the fable of the jackal, who deceives his friends, the tiger, the mouse, the wolf and the mon-goose (25 ślokaś), which is not in the corresponding piece of the Śāntiparvan. Of the 65 (resp. 63) nīti ślokaś only 33 are identical or similar in both. The Ādiparvan recension makes on the whole a more original impression than the more pedantic Kaṇikopadeśa in the Śānti. Nevertheless I think Dr. Sukthankar is right in declaring the Kaṇikanīti to be an interpolation. It is certainly an after-thought, to make Kaṇika or Kaṇinka of the Bhāradvāja Gotra, who seems to have been a historical person, probably an old author of a work on Niti, the minister of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. It does not mean much that there is no reference to the piece in Kṣemendra's Bhāratamañjarī. When it was missing in the Kāśmīrian version, the Kāśmīrian author would naturally omit it. But it is of more consequence that the Javanese version and Devabodha's commentary do not refer to the Kaṇikanīti (pp. LVII f.).

While Hindu readers will probably find that too many passages have been excluded from the constituted text, many a Western

II (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 80), p. 215.

² "Kaṇikopākhyāna" in Protap Chandra Roy's edition.

scholar will be disappointed to find any amount of passages in the constituted text which he was sure could not be genuine and original parts of the Epic. I confess that I myself had hoped that the critical edition would confirm the spuriousness of such passages, for instances, as the various childish and contradictory stories which are meant to justify Draupadi's polyandrous marriage,¹ or the Śakuntalā episode in the form in which we find it in our editions, which could not have been the prototype for Kālidāsa's drama.²

We must not, however, allow our wishes to manage the facts of manuscript tradition. The Editor has certainly followed the only sound principle of relying entirely on the evidence of the Mss. themselves, viewing with suspicion any part of the text which is not found in all Mss., which is found only in one recension, or only in one manuscript, or in a small group of manuscripts or versions. This principle is based on the experience that copyists of the Mahābhārata have never found its text too long,³ whence we have no reason to assume that a passage omitted in a recension or version, had been omitted from a desire to abridge the text. Therefore, unless we can find some other valid reason, why a whole version should have omitted a passage, we have to assume that its omission is due to its having been added to the text in more recent times. Passages, however, which may be suspected on ever so plausible intrinsic grounds, must remain in the constituted text, if they are found in all versions and Mss. They may be interpolations, nevertheless, but then they must have been added at some earlier period to which our manuscript tradition does not reach back. The elimination of such passages is not the business of an editor, but must be left to that critical study of the Epic, of which the critical edition is only the beginning and the only safe basis.

¹ See my Notes on the Mahābhārata, JRAS 1897, p. 735ff. The Southern Recension has one additional such story, Appendix I, No. 100.

² See my paper Ind. Ant., May 1898, p. 136; and Hist. of Ind. Lit. I, Calcutta 1927, p. 376. The source of Kālidāsa's Drama was probably the Padma-Purāṇa. See Haradatta Śarma, Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa (Calcutta Oriental Series 1925), which ought to have been mentioned in Dr. Sukthankar's note 4 at page XXVIII.

³ See above p. 163.

Dr. Sukthankar has, by his edition of the Ādiparvan, created a high standard of workmanship, and it will be no easy task for his collaborators who will have to edit other parts of the Epic, to keep up this standard. On the other hand, these collaborators will be greatly helped not only by the example set by the first editor in the edition itself, but also by the scholarly way in which he has treated, in the *Prolegomena*, the complicated manuscript tradition, and mastered the whole problem of Mahābhārata text criticism. The *Prolegomena* will be an inestimable help to the editors of other Parvans, though it is by no means certain that the manuscript tradition and the relation of the different versions will be exactly the same for the later Parvans, as for the Ādiparvan.

Before I conclude, I must not omit to refer to the beautiful illustrations which are a worthy ornament of this Edition, contributed by the Ruler of Aundh, Shrimant Balasaheb Pratidinhi, by whose munificence the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was able to start the work.

It is highly to be desired that this monumental work of scholarship, which is also a work of true Indian patriotism, may in future also always receive sufficient financial support from the Princes and governments, and possessors of wealth in India, in order that it may be possible to keep up the high standard that has been set by the Edition of the Ādiparvan.

FAMINE IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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Foreword

In this article, the current theory that ancient India was subject to acute and recurrent famine has been attacked from diverse standpoints and has been proved to be very misleading. 'Ancient India' has here been intended to mean 'India from the times of the Rgveda down to the end of the Gupta-period.'

Beginning of India's degradation seems to be synchronous with the invasion of the Hūnas; but recurrent famine appeared not till after nine centuries. Practically, only two famines of any severity occurred within the period - one in the year 917-18 A. D. in Kāśmir, and the other in Delhi country during the time of Muhammad Tuglak. The latter is attributed by Zia Barni¹ to excessive land cesses and the consequent ruin of cultivators. It will be apparent from the famine table given in appendix D that recurrent famine made its appearance from the time of Babar, and its frequency and extent went on increasing till the year 1899-1900 A. D. saw the greatest famine recorded in history. A year later, a Famine-Commission was appointed by the Government of India. The Commissioners recommended that irrigation should be given a more important and permanent place in any future scheme of famine insurance. But has the Government yet been able to give full effect to that recommendation?

The above is, however, outside the scope of the subject treated herein. It nevertheless bears mention in as much as it supports in a way the conclusions that the article draws as a result of a comparative survey of the determining factors of famine in relation to ancient and modern India, and other scientific investigations. Any comparison based on facts and figures is not possible in view of paucity of adequate materials. Yet, no less strong evidences have been presented to show that in ancient days conditions were distinctly far more unfavourable to the occurrence of acute and recurrent famines than those in modern times, thus leading to the only conclusion that goes strongly against the current theory already referred to.

¹ See Elliot's History of India, vol. I, p. 328.

I Introduction

The Current Theory is Misleading :

The R̥gvedic Aryans who settled down as agriculturists in "Sapta Sindhu" - The modern Punjab, appreciated that timely rainfall was essential for successful agricultural operations. They believed that it was Indra who could help them in having timely rains and hence invoked his aid by offering sacrifices in his honour. The fact that Indra is the object of the greatest number of hymns is significant. It perhaps shows that the early Indians believed that if Indra was duly propitiated, they would have plenty of crops and famines and scarcities would be far from their doors. If so, it would be rash to stigmatise this belief as a mere superstition. It might have had a substantial basis; otherwise, Indra-worship would not have been continued and continued enthusiastically for thousands of years. It is remarkable that there is no distinct mention of famine in the R̥gveda. Only in Bk 1, 112, 11 we find a reference to drought. Rv. II, 15, 5 refers to scarcity causing a number of people to migrate northward by crossing the Paruṣṇī. There are few other stray references, and it can safely be said that famines were few and far between in the time of the R̥gveda when Indra worship was greatly in vogue.

In later times, we find the King of Ayodhyā boasting of his Kingdom as full of cultivators and abounding in corn¹. In chapter 1 of the Bāla-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa again, it is told that in the reign of Rāma, people will have nothing to fear from scarcities and famines. The Kingdom of Aṅga is however, represented as overtaken by drought during the reign of Rōmapada Mahārāja; but it is significant that the evil is attributed to a default on the part of the King.² Jātaka No. 276 also contains a similar idea. It narrates how famine once arose in Dantapura due to an unusual drought and how later, by observance of virtue by the King, rain was made to fall, crops grew in abundance and the usual prosperity of the kingdom restored. Indeed the people and the King both believed that no calamity could befall a kingdom if the King were virtuous; and if any befell a

¹ See Ayodhyākāṇḍa, ch. LXVIII and III.

² Bālakāṇḍa, ch. IX, 7-9.

country due to a default on the part of the King, it could be got over by the King expiating his wrong. Jāt. No. 75 refers to a drought in Kosala, while Jāt. No. 199 speaks of a famine as a result of heavy down-pour of rains during the rainy season. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad refers to a famine afflicting a district for long 12 years. Such references lacking in details as they often are have led to the theory that in ancient India, terrible famines were frequent and long continued. But we find it difficult to imagine how acute famine confined to one tract of the country could last for a long period unless the afflicted tract was deserted by the people at the onset and turned into a desolated waste for that period. On the other hand, Megasthenes stands for the statement that "famine has never visited India."¹ The question of the relative veracity of Megasthenes may not be discussed here, and we may agree with Schwanbeck that "the knowledge of ancient India derived from the book of Megasthenes has only approached perfect accuracy the more closely those who have written after him on India have followed his Indika."

Famine is the English substitute for Sk. "Durviksa" which literally means a condition in which alms are obtainable with difficulty. In ancient India, famine therefore, might mean anything from absolute scarcity to non-abundance of grains. The following summary of a story taken from the Jātaka will be found interesting here.

Once the grains had been carried away during the rainy season and there was a famine. But it was the time when the corn had just sprouted and all villagers came together and besought help of their headman saying, two months from now, when we have harvested the grain, we will pay you in kind.' So they got an old ox from him and ate it. One day, the headman watched his chances for carrying on an intrigue with the wife of a householder, and when the householder was gone abroad, he visited the house. Just as the two were happy together, the man came in by the village gate and set his face towards home. The woman was looking towards the village gate and saw him. She told the headman, 'Do not be afraid, I have a plan. You know we have had meat from you to eat. Make as though you were seeking the price of the meat. I will climb up the granary and

¹ McCrindle, p. 31

stand at the door of it crying 'no rice here' while you must stand on the middle of the room and insist on payment.' The good man entered the house and saw what they were about. He called the headman 'Sir Headman, when we had some of your old ox to eat, we promised to give you rice for it in two months time. Not half a month has passed. Then why do you try to make us pay now? That is not the reason you are here and to make his meanings clear, he uttered the following lines,—

" I like not this, I like not that, I like not her I say
 Who stands besides the granary and cries ' I cannot pay '
 Nor you nor you Sir : Listen, *now my means and store are small*
 You gave me once a skinny cow and two months grace withal
 Now ere the day, you bid me pay, I like not this at all
 (Cowell)

Thus, if there was an absolute dearth of grains, it is curious how the whole village could live on an old ox for two months. Yet it is definitely told that there was famine. At the same time, we are informed also that the store of the villagers was (not empty) but small.¹ Famine in ancient India did not therefore, always mean such a destitute and forlorn condition as we understand by it today. Of course, we have some references to a destitute condition of the people as caused by famine. But a scientific analysis of the determining factors of famine applied to ancient India would tend to show that acute famines were few and far between in olden days.

II A Comparative Survey of the Determining Factors of Famine

The Agnipurāṇa ascribes famine to either of the two causes of absolute dearth of excessive rain. But excessive rain was presumably rare or we would have found the people as much

¹ It is worth while to note in this connection the meaning of the Bengali word "Bāḍanṭa". Bāḍanṭa = Bāḍer Anṭa = Exhaustion of surplus. In olden days, a householder signified his inability to give alms by saying "Bhāṇḍar Bāḍanṭa" i. e. "There is no surplus in the store." Uptill today the same word is used in Bengali household significantly enough not in the same sense it was used in olden days. Now a days "Bhāṇḍar Bāḍanṭa" means "The store is empty."

anxious to avert it as they were for securing timely rainfall. Indeed, nowhere do we find mention of any sacrifice or ceremony to stop an excessive downpour of rain. Kautilya in Bk. VIII, Chap. 2 says that "absence of rain is worse than too much rain" for excess of water would be drained off or kept off the field by "Kheya" or "Bandya" dykes respectively.¹ Acute famine was therefore mainly and primarily determined by drought.

For a scientific enquiry however, as to whether or not famines in ancient India were more frequent and acute than now, let us make a brief comparative survey of the following points of investigation in relation to ancient and modern India :

- 1 — Forest and rainfall.
- 2 — Irrigation and method of cultivation.
- 3 — The agricultural land and population.
- 4 — Cattle and Bullock-power.
- 5 — Transport facilities and export.

Forest and Rainfall

Beyond the outskirts of villages lay stretches of forest where the villagers had common rights of waste and wood. The Arthasāstra mentions a Government Officer called "नागवनाध्यक्षः" (The Superintendent of Forest) and enjoins that the King shall keep in good condition forests created in the past, preserve game forests, elephant forest, forests for Brahmans, separate wild tracts for timber forests and also set up new ones (रक्षेत्पूर्वकृतान् राजा नवांश्च प्रवर्तयेत्).² But disforestation has begun in India definitely from the time of Babar and has been continued ever since. The result is that rain-fall has considerably decreased, water level has sunk in many tracts and many tracts have turned into desolate waste. Once navigable rivers to wit the Sarasvatī, the Behula have been altogether silted up. Saptagrām on the Sarasvatī once an important port and prosperous city is now practically a jungle. Dredging these rivers is a good business at least from the view point of health and prosperity of the tracts on their banks and of the people living thereon.

Forests again, play an important part in the control of stream-flow and protection of flood. Apart from sinking water-level and

¹ See the Narada Smṛti, XI, 18.

² See Bk. I Ch. 19 and Bk. II Ch. 2.

consequent silting up of many rivers, floods and consequent destruction of land by erosion, the disforestation has produced even more serious effect. The people deprived from cheap firewood resort largely to burning cow-dung as fuel. The available manure has thus considerably decreased. Not only that; the absence of surrounding forests and incidentally an export trade of bones¹ collected to some extent from the fields, have deprived the fields from a further source of organic matter thus reducing the fertility of the soil to an extent.²

2. *Irrigation and Method of Cultivation*

Over a large part of the country rain has always been unequally and irregularly distributed and surely, that is why we find that from very early times, Indian Cultivators have sought to supplement the rain-fall by digging wells and conserve it by tanks and storage reservoirs. Macdonell and Keith find clear reference to artificial water channels used for irrigation as practised in the times of the R̥gveda.³ In the Atharvaveda also such references are not wanting.⁴ The Viṣṇuparva of the Hari-vamśa contains a masked reference to the course of the Yamunā being diverted through Br̥ndāvana by Balarāma. It was apparently for agricultural purposes; for Balarāma is characteristically represented as the wielder of the plough (Lāṅgala) and the pestle (Musala). In the Sabhāparva Chap. CL 5 of the Mahābhārata, we find the hoary sage Nārada asking King Yudhiṣṭhira, "Are large tanks dug in your Kingdom at proper distances by which agriculture has not to depend entirely on rain"? The Arthaśāstra in Bk. II chap. I enjoins that the King shall construct reservoirs of water and shall provide with sites, timber and other necessary things for those who would construct reservoirs of their own accord. The Jātaka⁵ and the Law-books⁶ also contain numerous references to irrigation. From the Arthaśāstra again, we learn that there was a special Government Officer called the

1. Vide appendix B.

2. " " C.

3. Vedic Index I, p. 214

4. See Bk. III, Hymn 13.

5. See. Vol. I, pp. 188-191. and Vol. 5 p. 19 Cowell.

6. The Nārada Smṛti XI, 17-19; Br̥haspati XIV 23; Yājñavalkya, II, 156 etc.

Superintendent of Agriculture who assessed land at rates varying according to different methods of irrigation. The same book refers also to the significant fact that remission of taxes was allowed to those who built of their own accord lakes, tanks etc. or repaired neglected or ruined works of similar nature.¹

Megasthenes mentions that India has vast planes of great fertility all alike intersected by multitude of rivers and the greater part of the soil is under irrigation.

Candra Gupta Maurya maintained a regular system of canals and a special department whose business was to measure lands and regulate water supply by sluices. Valentine Chirol writes "In the reign of Candra Gupta Maurya, admirable was the solicitude displayed for agriculture then as now the greatest of industries and for its handmaid irrigation."

The Lake Sudarśana which was excavated by Puṣya Gupta - the Viceroy of Candra Gupta and whose channels of irrigation were completed by Aśoka, is one of the greatest monumental works that still points to the great importance that used to be attached to irrigation in ancient India. In later times also, kings dug many reservoirs for agriculture, the ruins of which are still to be found in Midnapur, Bankura and Birbhum in West Bengal and Tiperra and other places in East Bengal.

As for the method of cultivation in ancient India, it may be noted that the ancient Indian cultivators who comprised a wealthy and respectable section of the people possessed a fair knowledge of climatology², classification and selection of soil,³ plant physiology, seasonable cultivation and rotation of crops,⁴ protection of crops,⁵ treatment of seeds and different kinds of manure. Indeed one will be filled with astonishment and admiration if he cares to look only into the elaborate injunctions as are found in the

¹ The Arthaśāstra Bk. II Ch. 24 and Bk. III Ch. 7.

² The Kṛṣi Samgraha written by Parāśara gives elaborately the influence of the planets etc. on rainfall, monthly and yearly indications of rainfall, prediction as to rainfall from wind directions etc.

³ Vide the Arthaśāstra, translation by Shāma Śāstri p. 198.

⁴ Vide the Arthaśāstra Bk. II ch. 24. The system of fallowing and rotation of crops was early known in India as the earliest literature shows it (vide Rv. VIII, 91, 5-6).

⁵ For means adopted for the protection of crops, reference may be made to Av. Hyam. 50, Bk. III; Jāt. No. II and the Law books—Manu VII, 241., Yājñ. II, 161. Nār. XI, 29; Gaut. XII; Viṣṇu V 146 etc.

Arthasāstra, the Brhat Samhitā and the Agnipurāṇa regarding selection and treatment of seeds and the use as fertilisers of animal excreta, flesh and bones, beef and fishwashing, minute fishes and various kinds of mixtures and decoctions. A few quotations will bear out the truth of this statement.

Thus, for the treatment of seeds, the Arthasāstra says, "The seeds of grains are to be exposed to mist and heat for 7 nights. The seeds of Kośī (such as Mudga, Māṣa etc.) are treated similarly for 3 nights; the shoots of sugar cane and the like (Kāṇḍabīja) are plastered at the cut-end with a mixture of honey, clarified butter, the fat of hogs and cow-dung; the bulbous roots with honey and clarified butter; cotton seeds with cow-dung, and water pits at the roots of trees are to be burnt and manured with bones and cow-dung at proper seasons. The sprouts of seeds when grown are to be manured with a fresh haul of very small fish and irrigated with the milk of *Snuhi* (Euphorbia antiquorum.)"¹

And the Brhat Samhitā enjoins:—

"To ensure inflorescence, the seeds before being sown should be treated as follows:— The seeds should be taken up in the palm greased with *ghee* and thrown into milk. On the day following the seeds should be taken out of the milk with greased fingers and the mass separated into single seeds. This process is to be repeated for ten successive days. Then the seeds are to be carefully rubbed with cow-dung and afterwards steamed in a vessel containing the flesh of hogs or deer. Then the seeds are to be sown with the flesh of fat hogs added in a soil previously prepared by being sown with sesame and dug up or trodden down and then sprinkled daily with *Kṣīra*."²

Parāśara in his Kṛṣi Saṁgraha gives instructions regarding the use of farm-yard manure and the Brhat Samhitā in Ch. 55, 17-18 points out that,

"To promote inflorescence and fructifications a mixture of one *ādhak* (64 palas) of sesame, two *ādhaks* of excreta of goats or sheep, one *prastha* (16 palas) of barley powder, one *tula* (100 palas) of beef thrown into one *droṇa* (256 palas) of water and standing over for seven nights be poured round the roots of the plant".

¹ Translation by Shāma Śāstri, 2nd. Ed. p. 141.

² Chapter 55, 19-20.

Similarly, the Agnipurāṇa says " A good result is obtained by manuring the soil with powdered barley, sesame and the offal matter of goats mixed together and soaked in washings of beef for seven consecutive nights. A good growth of trees is secured by sprinkling them with washings of fish.¹ "

These ancient agricultural formulas except what is given in Khana'e maxims, are now forgotten. They are now buried within books—books that are neither available nor understandable to the illiterate Indian cultivator of to-day. It is thus quite evident that agricultural methods have suffered much deterioration in modern India.

3. *The Agricultural Land and Population*

From ancient days down to a long time after the Christian era, agriculturists were all Vaiśyas. Other occupations that were legally open to them were cattle-tending, trade and banking. As such, the word " *Cāṣī* " in those days did not mean anything dishonourable as it is now unfortunately thought to do due to a diseased and perverted mentality. Originally cultivation of the soil was the significant characteristic of the "*Arya*" and distinguished the civilised from the barbarians. Indeed, in ancient India, agriculture was not to be relegated to the lowest strata of population as now, but had always been the occupation of a class of men who were respectable and educated, who knew their rights and exercised them and held an important position in the State.

Proprietary right on land then lay with the "Chāsis." Opinion differs on the point. V. A. Smith, Samadder and others tried to show that the King was the absolute owner of land and water, while Jayaswal and others are of opinion that the King had no property on land. Perhaps, only the waste land belonged to the Crown, but in the Arthaśāstra Bk. II, Ch. 1, we find that " The King shall not take away unprepared lands from those who are preparing them for cultivation " True, we hear of royal grants. But, Rhys Davids has pointed out that in royal grants, the King granted not the land (as he had no property in land,) but only the tithe due by customs to the government as yearly tax². Indeed

¹ See Ch. CCLXXXII.

² Buddhist India, p. 48.

in the Arthasāstra Bk. I. Ch. 19 we find the explicit injunction that in royal grants, the recipient, shall have no right to alienate the land by sale or mortgage. On the other hand, the fact that tax payers had the right to sell or mortgage their fields to tax-payers is clearly borne out by the same treatise in Bk. III, Ch. 10. Private ownership of land is supported by many passages in the Law books.¹ What constitutes the proprietary right is clearly given in Bṛhaspati IX, 3, 4. The King had thus no proprietary right in the agricultural land. Only a defined portion of the gross produce was payable to him as tax in return of his good government, and the tax was somewhat similar to our modern income-tax. Division of labour and laws were so formulated that they indirectly safeguarded the interest of agriculture and agriculturists. By law, agriculture was set apart for the Vaiśyas. It was forbidden to others castes except in times of distress, and it was a criminal offence if one caste ordinarily took to the occupation of another caste. No land was allowed to lie fallow to an economic benefit both from the stand-point of the owner of the land and of the State. If one failed to cultivate his field or get it tilled by others he would lose the right to have any interest thereof, and any other deserving man might cultivate it and enjoy the produce.² This, together with the fact that cultivators had their own unions³ forces upon us the conclusion that land-owning non-agriculturists if there were any, were practically in the grip of cultivators and were eventually forced to give up their lands to those whose particular profession was to cultivate. Laws about debt and usury, sale and mortgage gave the necessary check to cultivators' indebtedness. The money-lender was also a Vaiśya and presumably a wealthy farmer so that if land at all went out of the hands of a small peasant proprietor, it went to a wealthier neighbour-farmer, thus tending to effect a consolidation of the agriculture land rather than its fragmentation. Hindu laws of inheritance have no doubt a tendency to effect subdivision of holdings. But joint-family system was largely in vogue in ancient

¹ Bṛhaspati VIII, 27, XI, 32, 34, 35, XIX 17; Nār. VI, 20, XI, 20, 21, 23, 24; Manu. IX, 52, 53 etc.

² See Nār. XI, 23. Also the Arthasāstra Bk. II Ch. I and the Agni-Pur. ch. CCLVII.

³ Gaut. XI. 20-21 see also the Arthasāstra, Bk. III ch. 14.

India ; and there is nothing to disprove that instead of dividing the land, one brother farmed it and shared the crops with the other brothers. This was not impracticable. There were no external factors to throttle rural manufacturing industries—in fact the provinces were alive with the bustle of manufacture and commercial undertakings,¹ and other professions were also legally open to them in which they could engage themselves and thereby supplement the income of the family. Also, we have references to different parties joining together to cultivate their fields, and there were distinct laws for such partnership concern.² Thus, farming on large scales,³ the indirect check to excessive subdivision of holdings and rural manufactories kept down the pressure on land though agriculturists were far more numerous than others as they are so now. The condition of agriculturists was good and as a class, they were regarded as sacred and inviolable.⁴ In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata, the great sage Nārada is represented as asking Yudhiṣṭhira whether the four items of “Vārtā” — agriculture, trade, cattle-rearing and banking were carried in his kingdom by honest men as upon these depended the happiness of his subjects ; and whether the five wise and great men employed in the five chief posts namely that for protecting the agriculturists, the merchants, the city, the forts and that for punishing the criminals were doing good to his kingdom by working in unison.⁵ In the Śāntiparva, we find Bhīṣma advising the King so that the agriculturists in his kingdom might not suffer oppression.⁶ The Arthaśāstra again in Bk. I. Ch. 19 says that the King shall protect agriculturists from molestation ;⁷ while Bṛhaspati enjoins that the husbandmen must not be put under any restraint.⁸ Rulers had thus always evinced a keen solicitude for their welfare.

¹ The Agnipurāṇa ch. CCXXXIX.

² Bṛhaspati XIV. 21, 25, Yāgñ. II, 262-68.

³ Jāt. No. 218. Jāt. No. 389, refers to a farm of thousand Karīṣas or 8000 acres.

⁴ McCrindle p. 32.

⁵ See chap. V, 79, 80.

⁶ Chap. LXXXIX, 24.

⁷ Cf. Agnipur. ch. CCXXXIX 44-45,

⁸ Chap. II, 37.

Hired servants were known in the days the Nārada Smṛti was written. In those days, the condition of landless agriculturists and agricultural labour was far from what it is now. It has already been noted that agriculturists had their unions. Naturally therefore it may be expected that it was they who controlled the market of agricultural produce. It was they again, whose lawful occupations were trade and banking. At times if needs there be, agriculturists could get loans from the government¹ whose one interest was to see that they thrived. Smaller cultivators could find employment by hiring out their labour to their more prosperous neighbours and the labourers that were recruited from the fourth caste might profitably employ their spare time in the many local industries. There was then no such competition of foreign, well-organized, machine-driven industries, nor did the industrial factories all tend to collect round cities and towns only, as now; and this only fact above all, forces on us the conclusion that the whole outlook of agriculture and agricultural labour in India was not as hopelessly complicated as we find it to day.

4. *Cattle breeds and Bullock power*

Tending of Cattle is very important from the point of view of agriculture. In olden days, we find, specific rules were laid down for the keeping and employing of cattle, (See Kṛṣi Sam. 86, 87, Parāśara Sam. II. 4, Agni. Pur. Ch. CCXCII. 23, 31, 33, 35) and for feeding and stock breeding. The Arthaśāstra mentions a Government Officer called the Superintendent of Cattle, whose exclusive duty was to supervise cattle in the country, keep a census of cattle and to see that they were being properly reared.² Orders were issued by Kings restricting castration of bulls.³ Brahmanical bulls were public property and inviolable. They were the breeding bulls and that is why we find the ancients so particular as to their physical fitness. Viṣṇu is Ch. LXXXIV directs that a Brahmanical bull set at liberty must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living. It must not be defi-

¹ See Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata ch. L. I, 3 also the Arthaśāstra Bk. I, Ch. 19.

² See the Arthaśāstra Bk. II ch.

³ See Asokan Pillar edict. V.

cient in any limb and it must be one who protects the herd. But the manner in which the stocks were fed was most important in so far as the breeds depended primarily upon it. As to that manner, an idea may be formed from the following lines from the Arthasāstra BK. II. Ch. 29.

For bulls which are provided with nose strings, half a *bhādra* of meadow grass, twice the above quantity of ordinary grass, one *tulā* (100 *palas*) of oil cakes, 10 *āḍhakas* of bran, 5 *palas* of salt, one *Kuḍumba* of oil for rubbing over the nose, one *prastha* of drink, one *tulā* of pulp of fruits, one *āḍhaka* of curd, one *droṇa* of barley or cooked *māṣa*, one *droṇa* of milk or half an *āḍhaka* of *Surā* (liquor,) one *prastha* of oil or *ghee* (clarified butter), 10 *palas* of sugar and one *palā* of the fruit of *śṛṅgavera* which may be substituted for milk. The same commodities less by one quarter each will form the diet for mules, cows and asses and twice the quantity for buffaloes and camels.

Every village was again provided with common pasture lands and wood lands. Common rights in forestry and pasture were very important, and in all royal grants of villages, special provisions were always made for them. We find Manu enjoining that " on all sides of a village, a space one hundred *dhanus* or three *samyā* throws (in breadth) shall be reserved for pasture and thrice that space round a town¹. " In the Arthasāstra (BK. II Ch. 2) also the king is directed to make provision for pasture grounds on uncultivated tracts (अकृष्यायां क्षुप्तौ पशुभ्यो विविक्तानि प्रयच्छेत् ।) A part of the fodder was picked up by the cattle themselves from these grazing lands, and the forest lands which by the way, supplied fuel to the people and saved much of the cow-dung nowadays employed for the purpose with a consequent loss of available manure, were also available to them. Herds of cattle were taken out to graze by professional graziers to whose interest and to those of their charge, the Law books gave due attention. The herdsman was to take cattle to pasture when the night was over and take them back in the evening after they had eaten grass and drunk water. After the crops had been harvested, cattle grazed on cultivated fields and also on current fallows. The

¹ VIII, 237, 60. Yājñ. II, 170 and the Agni. Pur. Ch. CCLVII 18,

weeds on cultivated lands, plants growing up from the seeds falling before the harvest, the stubble and the grasses on the field-borders and along water channels were also available to cattle in olden days as now. Fodder crops were cultivated and made into silage an old process in India as the word "*Sujavas*" in the Rgveda indicates. The cultivators also provided hay for the stock.

In ancient days the breeds of cattle were thus apparently fine. This is just because cattle tending was then in the hands of a class who understood the business and had means. The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928) points out that certain parts of India still show very fine breeds of cattle and observes that they may be traced to the skilful tending by some nomadic herdsmen who formerly supplied cattle to cultivators and probably existed up to recent times.

There has now been a general deterioration in the cattle breeds of India. We must seek for its cause in the decrease in the grazing area, the poverty and ignorance of the cultivator and many other factors that are practically outside control under the present circumstances.

The Royal Commission Report records many witnesses advocating extension of grazing areas, but finding no possibility of additions to existing grazing grounds suggests concentrating on increasing the productivity. But, poverty of cultivators stands seriously on the way of the suggestion being carried into effect. Majority of the cultivators do not get sufficiently for their own subsistence and are circumstanced to use for their own personal consumption maize, '*bazra*' '*Juar*' etc. which in olden days were more exclusively used as fodder. One has not got to go far but only take a trip to the Santhal Parganas and the rural areas of the district of Monghyr to see that cultivators at those places do actually use as their food the fodder crops of cattle. How then can they be expected to improve the rations of cattle when they are denied facilities to do that of their own?

As a result in many parts of the country, bullock power has come to such a low stage of deficiency that good cultivation would ere long be impossible. To improve the live stock, the Report recommends many methods amongst which some seem impracticable under the present circumstances unless they are supplemented by more vitally important ones. The Report could not see its way to recommend extension of grazing areas; while it definitely advises the Government not to prohibit an export trade in some fine Indian bulls of which foreign countries have a demand. In the face of so much local deficiency and want, we find the advice really perplexing.

5. Transport facilities and Export

Transport was less facile. And as for export, we learn from the authoritative *Periplus* that food stuff was exported from Barbaricum (Karachi ?), Muziris (Cranganore), Barygaza (Broach), the Gangetic delta and the Makram coast in the extreme N. W. to Dioscorida island, Cona, Moscha in Arabia and further west. But the surplus only was exported after keeping sufficient to meet internal demands. In fact, every village used to keep by a store of grains as a provision against times of emergency. From the *Arthaśāstra* Bk. II, chap. 15, we learn that of the Royal store, half used to be kept in reserve to ward off calamities of the people (ततः अर्धमापदर्थं जानपदानां स्थापयेत् ।). In Bk. IV. Chap. 3 again, we find the injunction that in times of scarcity help should be given from the Royal store. From the Sohgaura copper plate inscription also, we learn that in caravansaries a store used to be kept in reserve for times of need. In modern times on the other hand, export statistics speak eloquently for itself. (Vide appendix B., and also appendix A.).

III Malthus's Theory Applied

Again, many small scale industries that were once highly prosperous have been destroyed with the result that thousands of skilled men formerly engaged in those industries have been driven into agriculture, thus accelerating the pressure on land, and rendering a large portion of agriculturists unemployed and idle for a considerable part of the year, and consequently poorer,

The baneful effect of this on agricultural capital has also been incalculable. It cannot be denied that the productive efficiency of agricultural labour is now at a much lower level than it was formerly, and that the limitations of the law of Diminishing Return and those of the Malthusian Theory do not apply to India.

There is thus no scientific reason to show that famine and its horrors were more acute in ancient days than now?

IV Conclusion

Thus the above facts show that in olden days, conditions were distinctly far more unfavourable to occurrence of famine than they are so now and tend to ascribe to famine in ancient India a meaning somewhat different from what we understand by famine in modern days. They also lead us naturally to the conclusion that in ancient India, famines were much less frequent and usually much less terrible in character than now, inspite of the fact that cross-country communications were then very slow and difficult, caravans and boats being the only means by which surplus agricultural and other industrial products could be transported from one district to another and hence any relief measure to an afflicted tract neither immediate nor easy. The cause of recurrent acute famines of which India is in modern times the only victim is not far to seek if only we take into account the quantity of food stuff annually exported to foreign countries from her capacious shores.

There are men who deplore lack of communication of the many remote Indian villages with commercial centres and advocate commercialisation of agricultural products, holding out that commercialisation would tend to increase the price and thus help in the betterment of the condition of cultivators. But, if national wealth is not prevented from being drained out for lack of facilities in manufacturing enterprises, commercialisation of agricultural produce alone would mean only just what it has meant so far in recent times, and one need not point out here that, though the price of food stuff has had a considerable rise within the last century, the condition of cultivators instead of being better proportionately, has rather been much the worse for

it. To meet with the price of Indian raw materials foreign manufacturers have ever been trying to thrust their goods into Indian markets and make it impossible for Indian manufactories to survive the raids. Being unable to compete with more powerful adversaries, many manufacturing industries of India once highly prosperous have resulted in dying out within the last century. For an economic independence of a country, manufacturing industries must go hand in hand with agriculture and commercialisation has no sense if it is not consistent with national protection. Of course, isolation of villages is a bar to improvement of manufacturing industries for want of healthy competition. But, in ancient India, though communication between different districts was less facile than now, we have yet many references to merchants travelling from one district to another briskly carrying on their trade. From the Jātaka, we hear also of a whole village being inhabited by blacksmiths or potters or weavers or carpenters or other industrial workers, so that there was really no want of competition. Agin, in *Jat.* Nos. 186, 190, 195 and others, we find distinct references to over-sea trade also, and only Plynī's remarks are sufficient to show that Indian goods did not sell at a discount in foreign markets.

Modern conditions are however, much different from what they were in general in those days when "the excellent manufactures of India were known to the phoenicians and in the markets of Alexandria", when the provinces were alive with the bustle of manufacture and commercial undertakings, and "the inhabitants had abundant means of subsistence in consequence of which" Megasthenes says, "they exceeded the ordinary stature and were distinguished by their proud bearing."

APPENDICES

A

It is said that today, famine in any part of the country does not necessarily mean an actual shortage of food in the country, but essentially a local shortage together with a condition in which people are too poor to buy food that exists in other parts of the country. During 1896-97 famine, 600,000 tons of rice had however to be imported from Burma (see Report of the Famine

Commissioners of 1898). But, there can certainly be no two opinions regarding the fact that poverty and indebtedness of the cultivators are the vital economic causes of famine. Indeed, frequency and extent of famine increased in proportion the cultivators were impoverished.

Railways and irrigation are the two sister remedies of famine. So far as the latter is concerned, the recommendations of the Famine Commissioners of 1901 have not yet been given full effect to, on the plea that the utility of irrigation is far too restricted to justify initial cost. On the other hand extension of railways was carried out with extraordinary rapidity and at a rate much in excess of that recommended by the Famine Commissioners of 1880. Expansion of transport facilities however, contrary to expectation, produced effects more baneful than good. This was because there was no provision for other equally important safeguards. The rapid extension of railways brought about a revolution that was too sudden. It effected destruction of indigenous industries and the consequent concentration of labour on that very employment to which droughts are most dangerous. The historic methods of protection against famine were abandoned. The agricultural classes found inducement to sell their stock; and the extravagant habits that they contracted eventually enslaved them to the money lender.

B

Export of rice and wheat—the two principal food-grains and also of fish manure and bone :

In spite of decay in agricultural modes, it is interesting to note that India still produces on an average 36,000,000 tons of cleaned rice which is approximately 40% of the total world-production, and is the largest-exporter of rice in the world. In 1927-28, the export of cleaned rice though fell by 45% as compared to the export in pre-war quinquennium, yet stood at 2,429,000 tons. The average revenue derived from export duty on rice at the rate of only 3 annas per maund makes a pretty big figure—namely about £ 900,000.

The export of wheat and wheat flour amounts on an average, to 10,000,000 tons i. e. nearly 20% of production.

During the last war, export of fish and bone manures dropped heavily, yet the average export of fish manure was more than 12000 tons, and that of bone, more than 34000 tons. Thus, an idea can be formed as to the average export of fishes and bone from the country.

C

Some opinions on the effect of denudation of forest are reproduced here.

In 1863, Mr. N. A. Danzell, conservator of Forests in the Bombay Presidency : "Showed that the wanton destruction of forest had entailed barrenness and aridity on countries renowned in former times for their fertility ; that along with the woods, springs and rivulets disappear and cease to water the parched land ; that the actual temperature of the country is, by the destruction of its forests, very sensibly increased ; the rain, gradually washing away the vegetable earth from the sides of the denuded hills, condemns them to sterility, while these latter no longer able to retain and regulate the flow of water that falls on their slopes, are scored by deep gullies, formed by impetuous torrents, and the beds of rivers are one time dry and at another filled by sudden and short lived floods. "

(Extracts from the evidence before the Select Committee on Forestry. Parliamentary paper 287 of 1885.)

" I ought to say that there is a great mass of evidence in India which tends to show that the denudation process has had an effect upon the water supply in two ways ; one in diminishing the moisture of the country in the way of falls of rain and another in making the rain run away more rapidly and causing floods. (Mr. Pedder, Secretary, Revenue Department, India Office) "

" I have seen myself the effects of the denudation of hill slopes. I have seen a wellknown perennial stream dried up completely upon the slopes of the Nilgiris undoubtedly from the fact that the timber all round had been cut off for coffee planting (Col. James Michael, C. S. I.) "

D

FAMINE TABLE (*Loveday*)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>References</i>
917-18	Kashmir	Stein's <i>Rājtarāṅgī</i> , Bk. 5 V. V. 272-5.
1116	Deccan	Elliot. Vol. VIII. p. 36
1291	Delhi	" Vol. III. p. 140.
1343-45	Delhi country	" Vol. III. pp. 612, 620.
1471-72	Bijapur district	Briggs (<i>History of Mahomedan power in India 1829</i>) Vol. I pp. 493-4.
1527	Sind	Etheridge (<i>Report on past Famines in Bombay Presidency, 1868</i>) p. 16.
1540-43	Sind	" p. 17.
1554-55	Delhi, Agra and Benares districts	Elliot. Vol. V. p. 490.
1556	Hindustan	" " VI. p. 21.
1576	Delhi country	" " p. 297.
1594-97	Central India	" " p. 94.
1613-15	Punjab	" " p. 346.
1623	Guzrat	Etheridge p. 40.
1628-29	Hoozoor	" p. 63.
1650	Ahmedabad	" p. 37 Seq.
1660	Aurangib's dominions	Elliot Vol. VII. pp. 246-48.
1676-77	Hyderabad	Scott (<i>History of Dekkan</i>) Vol. II. p. 47.
1685	Deccan and Hyderabad	Elliot Vol. VII p. 328.
1702-4	Bombay & Deccan	Scott, Vol. II pp. 112-14.
1718	Bombay District	Etheridge p. 40.
1738	" "	Scott, Vol. II. pp. 210-11.
1747	" "	Etheridge pp. 26, 40, 60.
1759	" "	Etheridge pp. 17, 19.
1770	Bengal	Hunter (<i>Rural Bengal</i>) p. 35.
1781	Madras	Madras Manual of Administration Vol. I. p. 298.
1782	Bombay & Madras	Etheridge p. 17.
1783	Bengal, Belary, U. P., Kashmir and Rajputana	Orissa Report. Par. 18.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>References</i>
1787	S. Maharatta	Etheridge p. 103.
1790-92	Bombay, Hyderabad, Guzrat, Kutch, N. Madras and Orissa	„ pp. 22, 50, 55, 105 etc.
1799-1804	N. W. Province, Bombay district, Central India of Rajputana	R. Dutta (Famine in India) p. 4. Etheridge p. 116 etc.
1806-7	Widespread	Madras Manual Vol. I. p. 298 Etheridge p. 12.
1812	Bombay Agra & Madras districts	Etheridge pp. 33, 78, 126.
1819-20 & 1822	N. W. P. Rajputana, Deccan, Broach & Upper Sind	„ pp. 79, 18.
1824-25	Deccan, Bombay and Madras	„ pp. 79, 95, 134-37.
1832-34	Sholapur, Madras, Guzrat, Kandish, N. Deccan & N. W. P.	„ pp. 79, 101.
1853-55	Bellary & S. Madras, Deccan, Rajputana & part of Bombay district	„ p. 80.
1856-57	Orissa, Behar, Ganjam, Bellary, Mysore, Hyderabad	
1860-61	Parts of N. W. P. Panjab Rajputana and Kutch	First famine after the abolition of East India Company.
1862	Deccan	Etheridge, p. 80.
1866-70	N. W. P. Punjab, Guzrat, parts of Central India, 1880 Famine Commission Report. Deccan and Rajputana	
1873-74	Behar, & Bundelkhand Province	„ „ „ „

<i>Date</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>References</i>			
1876-78	Madras, Bombay, Mysore, Hyderabad, U. P. and Kashmir	1880	Famine Commission Report		
1888-89	Ganjam, Native Orissa states	1898	"	"	"
1896-97	N. W. P., Bengal, Bombay, C. P. , Berar, Madras, Delhi districts, parts of C. India, Hyderabad and Rajputana	"	"	"	"
1899-1900	C. P. Hissar-districts, Bombay, Berar, Hyderabad, India, Baroda, Kutch, Kathiawar, Native states of C. P. , E. Punjab, Bengal, Agra. S. Madras & Delhi district.	1900	"	"	"
			(The greatest famine history records).		

DARŚANASĀRA OF DEVASENA :

CRITICAL TEXT

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

PRELIMINARY NOTE : *Darśanasāra* of Devasena, though quite popular in orthodox Digambara circles, was first brought to the notice of orientalist by Peterson in 1884 (*Reports* II, p. 74), when he actually used it for settling the date of Pūjyapāda. He soon realised the value of this book, and printed the text ' from the first copy of the work that fell into his hands. ' Then he procured a transcript of it (the same as E described by me below, though Peterson numbers it as 305 (507 ?) of 1884-86), compared it with a Ms. from Jeypore, and gave also a translation of the first fifteen verses of this ' important tract adding a few remarks chiefly from the commentator ' (*Reports* III, pp. 12 ff., 374 ff.). I grasped the importance of this text, when I wrote my paper on ' Yāpaniya Saṅgha--a Jaina sect ' (*Journal* of the University of Bombay I, vi). As the text printed by Peterson was inaccurate, being based on scanty material, I have given here a critically constituted text of *Darśanasāra* with variant readings. after collating almost half a dozen Mss., most of which are from the Government collection now deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. My studies about *Darśanasāra* will soon follow.

CRITICAL APPARATUS

A. This is a paper Ms., 10.5 by 5 inches in size from the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavan, Arrah ; it has six pages, with ten lines in each page. It contains merely the gāthās and has a few marginal notes. The colophon runs thus : इति दर्शनसारं समाप्तं विराट-नगरमध्ये मल्लिनाथचैत्यालये इदं पुस्तकं लिखापितं श्रावण वदि चतुर्दश्यां बुधवासरे संव. १८८६ का. ।

B. This is a paper Ms., about 12 by 5.5 inches in size, numbered 1072 of 1884-87, from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The appearance is pretty old. It contains three loose leaves, each leaf written on both sides, each page containing

about ten lines. The skirts of the pages are broken at places. It is written in uniform Devanāgarī hand with numbers of gāthās in red ink ; at places some letters are dropped out due to the thickness of ink. It has only gāthās ; there are many marginal notes generally giving the Skt. rendering of the gāthās. The colophon runs thus : इति श्रीदेवसेनमुनिविरचितो दर्शनसारः संपूर्णः ॥ छ ॥ संवत्सरे ब्राह्म-
वसुमुनीदुमिते १७८५ पोषासितपंचम्यां सिलोरमध्ये भट्टारक श्री १०८ श्रीमद्वेद-
कीर्तिजी तच्छिष्य मुश्री(?)मनोहरेणेंद पुस्तकं स्वपठनार्थं लिखितं शोधितं च ॥
वाचकानां शर्म भवतु ॥ ॥

C. This is a paper Ms., about 11.5 by 7.5 inches in size, numbered 1088 of 1891-95, from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It contains seven loose folios, written on both sides, each page containing six lines. It is written in rough Devanāgarī hand with metrical stops generally indicated by red strokes, single or double. The Ms. is quite new in its appearance. It contains only gāthās ; the first 42 gāthās have Sanskrit chāyā written in small hand above the lines. There are many scribal errors : the copyist has not properly represented long and short vowels, and almost throughout the stroke on *u* to give it the value of *o* has been uniformly represented by an *anusvāra*. The copyist has a tendency towards *n*. There are other mistakes which could be very easily checked and hence not noted in *v.l.* The Ms. has no colophon, but ends thus : इति श्रीदर्शनसारः समाप्तः ।

D. This is a paper Ms., about 13 by 8 inches in size, numbered 1073 of 1884-87, from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It contains seven loose folios, written on both sides, each page containing seven lines. It is written in bold and uniform Devanāgarī hand with numbers in red ink. The appearance is quite new. It contains only gāthās. There are a few scribal errors : at times *p* is written for *y* ; *v* is often represented by *b* ; sometimes the conjunct is represented by a doubtful *anusvāra* on the preceding letter, and often the necessary *anusvāra* is neglected. There is no colophon, but the Ms. abruptly ends : इति श्रीदर्शन-
सारसंपूर्ण ॥ १ ॥ शुभमस्तु ।

E. This is a paper Ms., about 11 by 8 inches in size, numbered 507 of 1884-86, from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The appearance is new. It contains 100 folios (26 loose and the remaining double), written on both sides, each page containing 14 lines. It is written in close Devanāgarī hand with such words as *ārtha*, *śloka* etc. written in red ink. The Ms. contains gāthās as well as a long and exhaustive Hindi commentary. There are some scribal errors in the gāthās, for instance *o* and conjuncts are not properly represented. The Ms. has 48 gāthās with the Hindi commentary, and it abruptly ends with a very corrupt colophon : इति दर्शनसार संपूर्ण ॥ संवत् सरनौ सैत्रीराणवैके साल देवसेन आचारज क्रता ॥ १ ॥ The date, as I understand it, is samvat 1793, possibly it is a new copy of an old Ms. of this date. This Ms. is used by some modern scholar, as the beginnings of gāthās are scored with red pencil, and in the middle there are marks of red and blue pencils.

P. This stands for the text edited by Pandit Premi of Bombay and published with chāyā, Hindi translation, critical and historical notes etc., in the 13th Vol. of *Jaina Hitaishī*, a defunct Hindi magazine. The text is readably good and materially critical. The copies of this edition are no more available.

Pn. This stands for some of the readings in foot-notes noted by Pt. Premi in the above edition.

These Mss. do not show anything like families among themselves. Still this much can be said that C is very often independent ; A and B closely agree among themselves ; some of the readings from Pn are really important, and I must say that none of my Mss. gives those readings.

I am very thankful to P. K. Gode Esq. M. A., Curator, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute Poona, whose uniform courtesy and readiness to help are matters of everyday experience for those who had the privilege of studying the Mss. in the Institute.

पणमिय वीर-जिणिंदं सुर-सेणि^१-णमंसियं त्रिमल-णाणं ।
 बोच्छं दंसण-सारं जहं कहियं पुव्व-सूरीहिं ॥ १ ॥
 भरहे तित्थयराणं पणमिय-देविंद-णाग-गरुड्ढाणं ।
 समएसु होति^२ केई मिच्छत्त-पवट्ठा जीवा ॥ २ ॥
 उसह-जिण-पुत्त-पुत्तो मिच्छत्त-कलंकिदो महा-मोहो ।
 सव्वेसिं भट्ठाणं^३ धुरि गणिओ पुव्व-सूरीहिं^४ ॥ ३ ॥
 तेण य कयं विचित्तं दंसण-रूवं स-जुत्ति-संकलियं ।
 तम्हा इयराणं पुणुं सम्मत्त-वएसु हाणि-वयं ॥ ४ ॥
 एयंतं संसइयं विवरीयं विणयजं महा-मोहं ।
 अण्णाणं मिच्छत्तं णिद्धिट्ठं पुव्व-सूरीहिं ॥ ५ ॥
 उक्तं^५
 असीदि-सदं किरियाणं अकिरियाणं हवन्ति चुलसीदि ।
 सत्त-सट्ठि अण्णाणा वेणइया होति बचीसा ॥
 सिरि-पासणाह-तित्थे सरउं-तीरे पलास-णंयरत्थो ।
 पिहियासवस्स^६ सीसो महासुदो बुद्धाकित्ति-मुणी ॥ ६ ॥
 तिमि-पूरणासणेणं य अगणिय-पावज्ज जाओ परिब्भट्ठो ।

1 DE ०जिणंदं. 2 ACDEP सुरसेण^०, B alone सेणि with a marginal gloss ०श्रेणि^०.
 3 E बोच्छे. 4 E जं कहियं. 5 BCDE ०णायगरुड्ढाणं, B has a marginal gloss नागश्रेष्ठा-
 नाम्. 6 C समयेसु हुंति. 7 ०पवट्ठा, but the *chāyā* reads प्रवृत्तिगाः. 8 P भट्ठाणं, *chāyā*
 भट्ठाणां. 9 E भव्वसूरीहिं, possibly it is सव्व^०. 10 ABE Pn समुत्तिसंकलियं, AB have a
 marginal gloss स्वमूर्तिसंकलितम्; C संसृष्टिसंकलियं with the *chāyā* समुदता^०; P has
chāyā स-युक्ति for स-जुत्ति, but I have in view स्वयुक्ति^०. 11 EP पुण. 12 C समत्तवये(ए)
 सु हाणिचयं, C has *chāyā* हानिचयं जातम्; D ०हाणिपयं; E समत्तवएसु हाणिबुद्धिगयं; P समए
 तं हाणिबुद्धिगयं with the *chāyā* समयं तद्धानिवृद्धिगतम्; B has a marginal gloss सम्यक्त्तव-
 वनेषु हानिव्रतम्, I have in view. हानिपदम् 13 AB सव्वसूरीहिं, DEP सव्वदग्गिही. 14 The
 phrase उक्तं च occurs in ABD, but it introduces the verse सिरिपास etc., it is C
 alone which adds असीदि-सदं etc., with the phrase उक्तं च and numbers: that
 verse as 6: I have changed सुलसीदि into चुलसीदि and हुंति into हांति. 15 P सरपू^०.
 16 B ०नयरत्थे. 17 BEP सिस्सो. 18 ABD महासुओ, Pn महासुदो and महासुदो. 19 C बुद्धि-
 कित्तिमुणी, P बुद्ध^०. 20 DEP ०पूरणासणाहिं. 21 C अगणिय पापं ज्ञ जाओ with the *chāyā*
 पापं उपार्ज्य, Pn अगणिय पावज्ज जाओ परिब्भट्ठो and अगहियपव्वज्जाओ परिब्भट्ठो, while P im-
 proves from these अहिगयपव्वज्जाओ etc.; the reading as in ABDE is adopted
 above: B has a marginal gloss अगणितप्रव्रज्याजानपरिप्रष्टः ।

रत्तंबरं धरित्ता पवाट्टियं तेण एयंतं ॥ ७ ॥
 मंसस्स णत्थि जीवो जहा फले दहिय-दुद्ध-संकरए ।
 तम्हा तं वंछित्ता तं भक्खंतो ण पाविट्ठो ॥ ८ ॥
 मज्जं ण वज्जणिज्जं दव-दव्वं जह जलं तथा एदं ।
 इदि लोए घोसित्ता पवट्टियं सव्व-सावज्जं ॥ ९ ॥
 अण्णो करेदि कम्मं अण्णो तं भुंजदीदि सिद्धंतं ।
 परिकप्पिऊण णूणं वसिकिच्चा णिरयमुववण्णो ॥ १० ॥
 एक्क-सए छत्तीसे विक्रम-रायस्स मरण-पत्तस्स ।
 सोरट्ठे वलहीए उप्पण्णो सेवडो संघो ॥ ११ ॥
 सिरि-भद्दबाहु-गाणिणो सीसो णामेण संति आईरिओ ।
 तस्स य सीसो^{१०} दुट्ठो जिणचंदो मंद-चारित्तो ॥ १२ ॥
 तेण कियं^{११} मयमेयं इत्थीणं अत्थि तब्भवे मोक्खो ।
 केवल-णाणीण पुणो अण्ण-क्खीणं तहा रोओ ॥ १३ ॥
 अंबर-सहिओ वि जई सिज्झइ वीरस्स गब्भ-चौरत्तं ।
 पँर-लिंगो वि य मुत्ती फासुय-भोज्जं च सव्वत्थ ॥ १४ ॥
 अण्णं च एवमाई आगम-दुट्ठाइं मिच्छ-सत्थाइं ।
 विरइत्ता अप्पाणं परिठवियं पढमए णरए^{१५} ॥ १५ ॥
 सुव्वय-तित्थे उज्झे खीरकदंबुं ति सुद्ध-सम्मत्तो ।
 सीसो तस्स य दुट्ठो पुत्तो वि य पव्वओ वक्को ॥ १६ ॥
 विवरीय-मयं किच्चा विणासियं सव्व-संजमं लोए ।

1 O दहियदुद्धसकरए. 2 E भक्खंतो ण पाविट्ठा. 3 C has the *chāyā* द्रवत् द्रव्यम्. 4 C जहा जलं तथा एयं. 5 E इति लोए. 6 AB गाणं. 7 At the end of this *gāthā* AB have the phrase एकान्तमित्यात्वम्. 8 P छत्तीसे वसिसए, B has a quotation in the margin

वरिसाणि सयच्छक्के सत्तरि-जुत्ताइं जिणिंद-वीरस्स ।

णिव्वाणं संपत्ते उप्पण्णो विक्रम-रायस्स ॥

9 C आयरिओ. 10 D तस्स पत्तित्तो. 11 BDE कयं. 12 CDEP अद्दक्खाणं, C gives the *chāyā* अद्दुक्खान्नभक्षणम्. 13 BCDE गब्भचारित्तं. 14 B has a marginal gloss परालिङ्गे-नापि मुक्तिः. 15 EP फासुयभोजं. 16 BP एवमाइ. 17 P मित्थसत्थाइं. 18 At the end of this *gāthā* A has the phrase संसयमित्थ(च्छ)त्तं, while B has संसयमित्थात्वं. 19 CD उज्झे, C has the *chāyā* अयोध्यायां; for उज्झे found in ABEP, E gives the *chāyā* उपाध्यायः. 20 D खीरकदंब ति. 21 PE सव्वसंजमं.

तत्तो पत्ता सव्वे सत्तम-णरयं महा-घोरं ॥ १७ ॥^१
 सव्वेसु य तित्थेसु य वेणइयाणं समुब्भवो अत्थि ।
 स-जडा मुंडिय-सीसा सिहिणो णगौ य केई य ॥ १८ ॥
 दुट्ठे गुणवंते वि य समया भत्ती यै सव्व-देवाणं ।
 णमणं दंडो व्व जणे परिकलियं तेहिं मूढेहिं ॥ १९ ॥^२
 सिरि-वीरणाह-तित्थे बहुस्सुदो पास-संघ-गणि-सीसो ।
 मक्कड-पूरण-साह् अण्णाणं भासंए लोए ॥ २० ॥
 अण्णाणादो मोक्खो णाणं णत्थि ति^३ मुत्त-जीवाणं ।
 पुणरागमणं भमणं भवे भवे णत्थि जीवस्स ॥ २१ ॥
 एक्को सुद्धो बुद्धो कत्ता सव्वस्स जीव-लोयस्सं ।
 सुण्ण-ज्झाणं वण्णावरणं परिसिक्खियं तेण ॥ २२ ॥
 जिण-मग्ग-बाहिरं जं तच्चं संदरिसिऊणं पाव-मणो ।
 णिच्च-णिगो^४ पत्तो सत्तो मज्जेसु विविहेसु ॥ २३ ॥^५
 सिरि-पुज्जपादं-सीसो^६ दौविड-संघस्स कारगो दुट्ठो ।
 णामेण वज्जणंदी पाहुड-वेदी महा-सत्थो ॥ २४ ॥
 अ-प्पासुय-चणर्याणं भक्खण-दोसो ण वज्जिंओ मुणीहिं ।
 परिरइयं विवरीयं विसेसियं वग्गणं चो^७ज्जं ॥ २५ ॥ जुम्मं ।
 बीएसु णत्थि जीवो उब्भंसणं णत्थि फासुगं णत्थि ।
 सावज्जं ण हु मण्णह ण गणह गिहं-कप्पियं अट्ठं ॥ २६ ॥

1 At the end of this gāthā AB have the phrase विपरीतमिथ्यात्वम्. 2 P गंगा य. 3 BCDE भत्ती ण. 4 P दंडु व्व. 5 At the end of this gāthā AB have the phrase विनयमिथ्यात्वम्. 6 P मक्कडि^०; B has the gloss मर्कट, while C has मस्करीपूरणसाधुः. 7 ABCE भासियं. 8 ABCDE मुक्खो. 9 P णत्थीति. 10 E एक्को सुद्धो कत्ता सव्वस्स य जीव-लोय-वग्गस्स. 11 D वण्णाचरणं; B has a marginal gloss वण्णावरणं नाम ग्रन्थम्. 12 DP संदरासिऊण, AB simply दरिसिऊण; A has a gloss जिनमार्गबाह्यतत्त्वं दर्शयित्वा. 13 P णिच्च-णिगोयं. 14 At end of this gāthā AB have the phrase अज्ञानमिथ्यात्वम्. 15 C 'पूज्यपाद'. 16 E सिस्सो. 17 AB डाविड. 18 P महासत्तो. 19 AB वयणाणं. 20 E वज्जिउ. 21 P भक्खणदो वज्जिदो मुणिंदिहिं. 22 B has a marginal gloss: आत्मा श्रुतवचनानां मध्ये विपरीतं परिचितं वर्गाणां मध्ये विपरीतत्वं विशेषितं चोक्तम्. 23 C उज्जवणं with the *chāyā* उद्गमनम्. 24 ABDE गह^०.

कैच्छं खेतं वसहिं वाणिज्जं कारिऊण जीवंतो ।
 ण्हंतो सीयल-णीरे पावं पउरं समज्जेदि ॥ २७ ॥
 पंच-सए छत्तीसे विक्रम-रायस्स मरण-पत्तास्स ।
 दक्खिण-महुरा-जादो दाविड-संघो महा-मोहो ॥ २८ ॥
 कल्लाणे वर-णयरे दुण्णि-सए पंच-उत्तरे जादे ।
 जावर्णिय-संघ-भावो सिरि-कलसादो हुं सेवडदो ॥ २९ ॥
 सिरि-वीरसेण-सीसो जिणसेणो सयल-सत्थ-विण्णाणी ।
 सिरि-पउमणदि-पच्छा चउ-संघ-समुद्धरण-धीरो ॥ ३० ॥
 तस्स य सीसो गुणवं गुणमदो दिव्व-णाण-परिपुणो ।
 पक्खुववासट्ठमादि-महा-तवो भाव-लिंगो य ॥ ३१ ॥
 तेण पुणो वि य मच्चुं णाऊण मुणिस्स विणयसेणस्स ।
 सिद्धंतं धोसित्ता सयं गयं सग्ग-लोयस्स ॥ ३२ ॥
 आसी कुमारेसेणो णंदियडे विणयसेण-दिक्खिओ ।
 सण्णास-भंजणेण य अगाहिय-पुण-दिक्खिओ जादो ॥ ३३ ॥
 परिवज्जिऊण पिच्छं चमरं धित्तूण मोह-कलिदेर्यं ।
 उम्मगं संकलियं बागड-विसएसु सन्वेसु ॥ ३४ ॥
 इत्थीणं पुण दिक्खा खुल्लय-लोयस्स वीर-चरियंत्तं ।
 ककस-केस-ग्गहणं छट्ठं च गुणव्वदं णीम ॥ ३५ ॥
 आयम-सत्थ-पुराणं पायाच्चित्तं च अण्णहा किं पि ।
 विरइत्ता मिच्छत्तं पवट्ठियं मूढ-लोएसु ॥ ३६ ॥
 सो समण-संघ-वज्जेओ कुमारसेणो हु समय-मिच्छतो ।
 चत्तोवसमो रुदो कट्ठं संघं परूवेदि ॥ ३७ ॥

1 E कट्ठे. 2 P स संजेदि with the *chāyā* स संचयति. 3 C बत्तीसे, with the *chāyā* द्वात्रिंशति; P छत्तीसे. 4 At the end of this *gāthā* AB have दाविडसंघोत्पत्तिः. 5 It is in Pn alone that I find the reading दुण्णि-सए etc.; A सत्तसए पंचुत्तरे; BCDP सत्तसए पंच-उत्तरे, E सत्तसयपंचउत्तरे. 6 A जावर्णिय, BCD जावर्णिय, E जावर्णिय. 7 C वि. 8 At the end of this *gāthā* A has जापनीयोत्पत्तिः; B has यापनीयोत्पत्तिः. 9 E ०सिस्सो. 10 C गुणवंतो. 11 CD पक्खुववासट्ठमादी, C has the *chāyā* पक्षोपवासाष्टमादी⁰, ABPE पक्खुव-वाष्टट्ठमादी⁰, with this much material I have emended the text as पक्खुववासट्ठमादि-महातवो. 12 Pn तेणपणो वि मिच्चुं. 13 AB तच्चं, P मिच्चुं, E मच्च. 14 D आसि य कुमार-सेणो. 15 D ०दिक्खिओ जादो. 16 P कलिपण. 17 D वरिचारितं. 18 C has *chāyā* thus बहुतरकेशग्रहणं जटाग्रहणं षष्ठमशुगस्थानम्. 19 C पायाच्चित्तं. 20 P ०वज्जेओ with the *chāyā* वज्जः

सत्तसए तेवण्णे विक्कम-रायस्स मरण-पत्तस्स ।
 णंदियडे वर-गामे कट्ठो संघो मुणेयव्वो ॥ ३८ ॥
 णंदियडे वर-गामे कुमारसेणो य सत्थ-विण्णाणी ।
 कट्ठो दंसण-भट्ठो जादो सल्लेहणा-काले ॥ ३९ ॥
 तत्तो दुसँएतीदे महुराए माहुराण गुरु-णाहो ।
 णामेण रामसेणो णिप्पिच्छं वणिणयं तेण ॥ ४० ॥
 सम्मत्त-पयडि-मिच्छंत्तं कहियं जं जिणिंद-बिंबेसुं ।
 अप्प-पर-णिट्ठिएसुं य भेमत्त-बुद्धीए परिवसणं ॥ ४१ ॥
 एसो मम होउ गुरु अवरो णत्थि त्ति चित्त-परियरणं ।
 सग-गुरु-कुलाहिमाणो इयरेसु वि भंगं-करणं च ॥ ४२ ॥
 जई पउमणंदि-णाहो सीमंघर-सामि-दिव्व-णाणेण ।
 ण विबोहइ तो समणा कहं सुमगं पँयाणंति ॥ ४३ ॥
 मूयबलि-पुप्फयंता दक्खिण-देसे तँहोत्तरे धम्मं ।
 जं भासंति मुणिंदा तं तच्च णिव्वियप्पेण ॥ ४४ ॥
 दक्खिण-देसे विंसे पुक्खलएँ वीरचंद-मुणिणाहो ।
 अट्ठारसएतीदे भिल्लय-संघं परूवेदि ॥ ४५ ॥
 सो णिय-गँच्छं किच्चा पडिकर्मणं तह य मिण्ण-किरियाओ ।
 वण्णायँरण-विवाई जिण-मगं सुट्ठु णिहणेदि ॥ ४६ ॥
 तत्तो ण को वि भाणिओ गुरु-गणहर-पुंगवेहि मिच्छत्तो ।
 पंचम-कालवसाणे मिच्छा-दंसण-विणासो हि^१ ॥ ४७ ॥
 एक्को वि य मूल-गुणो वीरंगय-णामओ जई होही^२ ।
 सो अप्प-सुदो वि परं वीरो व्व जणं पबोहेइ ॥ ४८ ॥
 पुव्वायरिय-कयाइं गाहाइं समुच्चिऊण एयत्थ ।

1 E सत्तसयतेवण्णे, 2 C नंदीवडे, 3 Pn कुमारसेणो हि णाम पव्वइओ, 4 At the end of this gāthā AB have the phrase : काष्ठसंघोत्पत्तिः, 5 E दुसयतीदे, 6 P णिप्पिच्छं, 7 BP ०मिच्छं तं, 8 D अप्पपराणिट्ठिए सुए, E ०णिट्ठिदेसु, 9 B जम्ममत्त०, 10 C संग०, 11 D जयपउमणंदि०, 12 A य याणंति, 13 E तहोत्तरं, 14 P पुक्कलए, B has marginal gloss पुक्कलनगरे, 15 D णियसंघं, 16 E पडिकर्मणं, 17 B वण्णाचरण०, CD वण्णावरण०, E वरणा-वरण०; P वण्णाचारविवाई, 18 A मिच्छासीसणाविणासे हि; BCDE मिच्छादंसणविणासेहि (or हिं) P सिच्छंतण विणासे हि, so the reading above has an emended form, 19 P वीरंगज०, 20 P होई, 21 A समुच्चिऊण, P सच्चिऊण.

सिरि-देवसेण-गणिणा धाराए संवसंतेण ॥ ४९ ॥
 रइओ दंसण-सारो हारो भव्वाण णव-सए णउए ।
 सिरि-पासणाह-गेहे सुपविचे माह-सुद्ध-दसमीए ॥ ५० ॥
 रुसउ तूसउ लोओ सच्चं अक्खंतयस्स जीवस्स ।
 किं जूय-भेए साडी विवज्जियव्वा णरिंदेण ॥ ५१ ॥

1 P णवए, on णवसए णउए B has a marginal gloss putting the number 990.
 2 P सुविसुद्धे. 3 P साहुस्स, 4 BD किं जुअमएण, C किं जुअ, I have, however, nasalised ए.

UNIDENTIFIED SOURCES OF THE VIMUTTĪMAGGA

(Some Indian Medical Works)

BY

DR. P. V. BAPAT, M. A., Ph. D.

All Buddhist scholars have confronted a very interesting problem since Prof. Nagai wrote an article in the Journal of the Pali Text Society (1917-1919, pp. 69-80) on Cie-t'o-tao-lun or Vimuttimagga as he rendered in Pali. Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka mentions this work under No. 1293 although he renders its title as Vimokṣamāgaśāstra. This Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga was made by a Buddhist monk of Fu-nan (Siam or Cambodia) named Seng-chie-po-lo early in the sixth century in the Liang dynasty (502-557).

This Chinese text is the translation of the Vimuttimagga or Vimuktimārga written by Upatissa. I have shown elsewhere¹ that this work seems to be entirely Indian in origin (and not written in Ceylon as Prof. Nagai thinks) although it was adopted by the Abhayagiri-vādins, the opponents of the adherents of the Mahāvihāra school in Ceylon. The Tibetan fragment of this text which I recently could discover² gives an additional proof that the Vimuttimagga or Vimuktimārga was an Indian work in origin and that it was studied in Buddhist schools at least until the time of Vidyākara-prabha, the translator of the fragment into Tibetan. This Vidyākara-prabha is mentioned as one of the Paṇḍits invited³ by King Ralpachan of Tibet in the ninth century A. D.

Vimuttimagga which is divided into twelve chapters, bears such a close similarity with Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga that we cannot explain it as merely a matter of accident. I have shown in another place what I think about the probable interrelation of the two books. But there are some sections in the

¹ Harvard studies in Classical Philology XLIII 1932. pp. 168-176.

² I read a paper on this subject at the seventh session of the Oriental Conference at Baroda (Dec. 1933).

³ ' Indian Paṇḍits in the Land of Snow ' by Śrī Śarat Chandra Dāś (pp. 49-50).

contents of the Vimuttimagga which, if they could be traced to their original sources, would throw a further light on this problem of the inter-relation of Upatissa and Buddhaghosa.

The author of the Vimuttimagga seems to be quite conversant with the science of Indian medicine. In the seventh chapter of the book the author gives a list of worms in the various parts of the human body. The names as they are found in the Vimuttimagga seem to be the Chinese transliterations of Indian names. A comparison with some of the old Indian medical works such as Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya, Caraka, Suśruta reveals that the names of the worms as given by Upatissa are different from those given in these books. Names of worms given in the Atharvaveda also do not agree. Further in the same chapter Upatissa gives a fuller account of the development of the child in the womb week by week. Suśruta speaks of the development of the foetus month by month and not week by week (See English translation by Bhishagrajii. p. 137ff.)

I consulted and wrote to several Indian Pandits inquiring if they could possibly trace the source of this information given by Upatissa but so far I could receive information from none. I am therefore putting it before the Readers of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Will some of the readers throw light on it ?

**List of worms in a human body as given in the Vimuttimagga
in its Chinese version (Chap. VII)**

The Vimuttimagga refers to 80,000 families of worms in all. It also gives the names of some worms as follows :—

Location	Name
Hair of the head	Fā-thien (hair-iron)
Skull	Er-tsung (ear-kind)
Brain(matthalunga)	Tie-Quān (mat ?)
subdivided into four categories :	
(i) Yu-cu-ling-po	(ii) Sa-po-lo
(iii) Tho-lo-ā	(iv) Tho-ā-sa-lo
Eye	Thie-yen (leaking eye)
Ear	Thie-er (leaking ear)
Nose	Thie-pi (leaking nose)

subdivided into three kinds :

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (i) Lau-kheu-mo-ā(°hā) | (ii) Ā-leu-kheu |
| (iii) Mo-nā-la mu-kho (Mṛnālmukha ?) | |

Location	Name
Tongue	Fu-kie (or Fu-cie)
Root of the tongue	Mu-tān-to
Teeth	Kyu-po
Root of the teeth	Yu-po-kyu-po
Throat	Ā-po-lo-ā (°hā)
Neck	subdivided into two kinds:
(i) Lo-ā-lo	(ii) phi-lo-ā-lo
Hair of the body (loma)	Thie-māo (leaking hair of the body)
Nails	Thie-tsā-o (leaking nails)
Skin	subdivided into two kinds
(i) Tu-nā	(ii) Tu-nān-to
Pleura (Kilomakam)	subdivided into two kinds :
(i) phi-lān-po	(ii) Mo-o-phi-lān-po (Mahā°)
Flesh	Two kinds :
(i) ā-lo-po	(ii) Lo-sā-po
Blood	Two kinds :
(i) po-lo	(ii) po-to-lo
Sinews (nhāru)	Four kinds :
(i) lāy-to-lo	(ii) Śi-to-sā
(iii) po-lo-po-to-lo	(iv) Lo-nā-po-lo-nā
Pulse	Kā-li-sā-nā
Root of the pulse	Two kinds :
(i) Sa-po-lo	(ii) Yu-po-sa-po-lo
Bones	Four kinds :
(i) Ā-thi-phi-phu	(ii) Ā-nān-phi-phu
(iii) Tāy -liu-tho-phi-tho	(iv) Āy-thi-ye-kho-lo
Marrow of the bones (atthimiñjā)	Two kinds:
(i) Mī-se	(ii) Mī-se-sa-lo
Spleen (pihaka)	Two kinds :
(i) Nī-lo	(ii) Pi-to
Heart	Two kinds :
(i) Sa-pi-to	(ii) Yu-phi-to-sa-phi-to
Root of the heart	Two kinds :
(i) Mān-kho	(ii) Sa-lo
Liquid fat (vasā)	Two kinds :
(i) Ko-lo	(ii) Ko-lo-sa-lo
Bladder	Two kinds :
(i) Mī-ko-lo	(ii) (Mo-hā-ko-lo Mahā°)

Location	Name
Root of the bladder	Two kinds :
(i) Ko-lo	(ii) Ko-lo-sa-lo
Cells of the membrane	Two kinds :
(i) Sā-po-lo	(ii) Mo-hā-sā-po-lo (Mahā°)
Roots of the cells of the membrane	Two kinds :
(i) Lāy-to	(ii) Mo-ho-lā-to (Mahā°)
Mesentery (Antaguna)	Two kinds :
(i) Cau-lāy-to	(ii) Mo-ho-lāy-to (Mahā°)
Roots of the intestines	Two kinds :
(i) Po	(ii) Mo-ho-sa-po
Root of the large intestines	Two kinds :
(i) Ā-nān-po-ā (°hā)	(ii) po-ko-po-ā
Stomach or rather its contents (udariya)	Four kinds :
(i) Yu-sau-ko	(ii) Yu-se-po
(iii) Tsa-se-po	(iv) Sie-sa-po
Abdomen	Four kinds :
(i) Po-ā-nā	(ii) Mo-ho-po-ā-nā
(iii) Tho-nā-phān	(iv) Phang-nā-mu-kho
Bile	Mi-to-li-hān
Saliva (kheḷa)	Sie-ān
Sweat	Ra-sui-to-li-hā (ā)
Fat (Medo)	Mi-tho-li-ā (hā)
Strength	Two kinds :
(i) So-po-ā-mo	(ii) Se-mo-chi-to
Root of the strength	Three kinds :
(i) Chieu-ā-mu-kho	(ii) Ā-lo-ā-mu-kho
(iii) Pho-nā-mu-kho	
Five kinds of worms in	
The food in front of the body	
" " " the back side of the body	
" " " " left " " "	
" " " " right " " "	
and worms named	
Cān-tho-sa-lo	Chang-ā-so-lo Pu-too-lo
and so on.	
Lower two openings	Three kinds :
(i) Kieu-lau-kieu-lo-wei-yu	(ii) Chā-lo-yu
(iii) Hān-thiu-po-tho	

**The development of a child in the womb
from week to week
as given in the *Vimuttimaggā* (Chap. VII)**

1st week	Kalala
2nd „	Abbuda
3rd „	Peśi
4th „	Ghana
5th „	Five joints
6th „	Four joints (possibly in addition although it is not so expressly said as in the following case)
7th „	Four more joints
8th „	28 additional joints
9th week and 10th week	Spine and bones
11th week	300 bones
12th „	800 joints
13th „	900 sinews
14th „	100 flesh balls
15th week	blood
16th „	pleura (kilomaka)
17th „	Skin
18th „	Color of the skin
19th „	Kammaja vāta all over the body
24th „	Navadvārāni
25th „	17000 pores (?)
26th „	Solid body
27th „	Strength
28th „	99,000 pores of the hair on the body
29th „	All the limbs of the body

Also it is said that in the seventh week the child remains by the back of the mother with the head down. In the 42nd week, the child is moved from its position by the windy element born of karma and comes to the Yonidvāra with its head below. And then here is birth.

MIGRATION OF LEGENDS ¹

A Study in Indian Folklore and Tradition

BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M. A.

In the absence of well authenticated records for reconstructing the history of ancient India, north and south, the legends are of indispensable value as one of the sources of information. Being records not of facts but of beliefs, they are not entitled to much credence for historical purposes. But in very early times when superstition and magic largely influenced the minds of the peoples of the ancient world, the poet chronicled the beliefs of his times in such a way that the mythological poetry becomes, as Froude, the historian, has remarked, the foundation of all national religions. Such popular stories handed down chiefly by oral tradition came to be claimed as common property of all peoples. Hence the antiquarian can now trace folklore parallels between, not only, those of different parts of the same country but also of the countries of the world. ²

Many of the Indian tales, for example, have been taken to Tibet and some of them have been published under the name 'Tibetan Tales' originally in German by Von Schiefner and translated into English by W. R. S. Ralston. ³

The object of the publication is said to be "to call attention to any features which the stories may have in common with European tales." The learned introduction to the volume shows how the legends have numerous European variants, though in some cases they have undergone considerable modification. So far as the fables about animals are concerned there is much similarity. As has been remarked "many of them are old acquaintances under a new guise." ⁴

¹ Paper Submitted to the First Bombay Historical Conference.

² For such interesting studies see I. A. Vols. VIII, IX & X.

³ Kegen Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. London (1906)

⁴ Ibid. Intro. p. lxiv.

Confining ourselves to India, we have a rich store of folklore in every province in India, the Punjab, Bengal, Maharashtra, Konkan, Andhradesa and the Tamil Nadu. A study of the legends of each of these provinces has been attempted and the results of such study have been from time to time published. Some of them have been incorporated in some form or other by the later writers and chroniclers. Having been handed down orally to a large extent it is but natural that these anecdotes travelled from one part of the country to another. The ancient poets and bards who found handsome patronage in the different courts of the reigning chieftains from time to time were primarily carriers of these traditions. Traces of these are found embedded in the rich literary productions they have left behind for our use and pleasure. The incidents ascribed in the biographies of saints and heroes in the two totally different traditions,—north Indian tradition as embedded in Sanskrit literature and South Indian tradition as embedded in Tamil literature, are a standing testimony.

How the legends migrate from one part of the country to the other and how they are skilfully woven into the warp and woof of the traditional history of the land can best be illustrated by the following few examples.

In the Mahābhārata, the great epic of India, there is a well-known story of a Dharmavyādha, literally a righteous hunter.¹

The following is a summary account of the story.

Once there lived a Brahman Kauśika by name, well-versed in Vedic lore. He directed his mind in the path of renunciation for a long time. While once sitting underneath a tree, one of the cranes on the tree let his urine fall on the Brahman's head, who at once got angry and looked on the crane with fiery eyes. The crane fell dead. The Brahman came to know of his great powers, and became proud of them. Once he happened to beg alms from a house in the neighbouring village. At that time the lady of the household found her husband coming home wearied. She attended to him first, making the Brahman wait at the door for some time. After services to her husband she brought food to Kauśika who saw her with eyes full of rage. The lady put him

¹ Vana Parva Ch. 209-219 — Kumbakonam Edn.

to shame with the remark 'do not regard me as the crane.' Kauśika became terribly afraid of her wonderful psychic powers and asked how she came to know of the incident.

In reply she asked him to go to Dharmavyādha in the city of Mithilā and get the necessary information. The Brahman became curious to know what it was. So he reached the residence of Dharmavyādha and found him engaged in cutting the meat and offering it for sale in his shop. Kauśika grew bewildered and waited for Dharmavyādha for some time after which he narrated to him the incidents of the crane and the lady and said that though he had toiled hard to earn *yogic* powers, still they did not bear fruit to him. The reason was that he was totally lacking in *dama* and *śama* which are the fundamental basis of all higher religion and that he thought too much of himself, and that by coming to him his overweening pride had a fall. Having learnt this fact from Dharmavyādha, Kauśika became wiser though a little sadder.

Some of the incidents in this legend find mention in the biographical sketches of Tiruvalluvar, the celebrated author of the Tirukkural and Uyyavanda devar, one of the Śaiva siddhānta saints. There has been a popular tradition connected with the biography of saint Tiruvalluvar. Apparently this tradition is orally handed down in Tamil land.¹ Valluvar's wife, Vāsuki by name, was an incarnation of chastity and literally practised what is said in the famous *kural-veṇṇa* Daivam Tolāl Koluṇṇaṇ toludolukuval. In other words she did not worship god but worshipped her husband. Service to him was equivalent to service to God. Once when she was engaged in attending on him, there appeared an ascetic apparently from the Konkan country for alms. On his way a crane from a tree dropped urine on him when he looked at it with anger that it fell down dead. Vāsuki made him wait as she was attending to her husband. The Brahman was put out and looked at her in wrath. To his great surprise she said in reply 'kokkenru ninaittāyṇo konkanavā?' 'Do you regard me as the crane' alluding thereby the harm he had done to the crane. The ascetic became afraid of her powers and wanted to know the truth. She directed him to her

¹ See Vadivelu Chettiar's *Tirugṇāna Cintāmaṇi*.

husband. Every day he came to Valluvar, and every time he was asked to come the next day. Months passed on. Knowing that the ascetic had grown impatient, Valluvar told him that even in domestic life one can attain fruits of penance provided it is done in the proper way and that even in ascetic life they cannot be attained if it is not practised as it ought to be.

Another part of the selfsame legend in the Mahābhārata occurs in almost the same form in the life of a Śaiva Siddhānta saint, Uyyavanda Devar.¹ There are two Uyyavanda devars, one of Tirukkātavūr and the other of Tiruviyalūr. When Uyyavanda devar of Tirukkātavūr was in quest of an ācārya, there came by somebody who directed him to go to Uyyavanda Devar of Tiruviyalūr. Accordingly Tirukkātavūrār reached Tiruviyalūr and was not able to find out the gentleman referred to him. A passer-by who knew his residence which lay outside the streets of caste men, directed him to a lane, which took him to his would-be teacher. The latter was a meat-seller and was sitting in his shop selling meat. Tirukkātavūrār became stupefied at this but still he had faith in his greatness and hence prostrated himself before him. Tiruviyalūrār finished the business of the day and then asked what brought him there. "To get initiated into the supreme knowledge" was the reply. "I knew this beforehand." So saying he handed to him a manuscript of his *Tiruvundi*, the origin of *Tirukkālirruppati*, an important work on the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy.

Let us take up another example of the same legend as transmitted by the literary tradition in the *Pañcatantra* and the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*. This is the story of a Brahman lady killing in haste a faithful mongoose without giving the least thought to such an action. The legend is laid in the *Śilappadikāram*² as having taken place in Puhār or Kāverippattinam in the time of Kovalan, the hero of the poem. The story runs in brief thus:

A mongoose was brought up in a Brahman household in the city of Puhār. The lady of the house went to the river to fetch water leaving the child under the guard of the mongoose. This

¹ See *Śaiva Siddhānta Varalāru* by S. AnavarataVinayakam Pillai, pp. 14-15 (Madras, 1909).

² *Aṭaikkalākātai* Canto 15. 11. 54-75.

innocent creature was a faithful servant. At that time a cobra came to bite the baby when the mongoose killed it and thus saved the child, and with its face besmeared with blood was waiting at the front gate for the arrival of the lady. The lady noticed the blood-stricken face of the mongoose and thinking that it had killed her child, she threw the pot on its head, and the poor creature was crushed to death. Entering the chamber she found a dead snake, and by the side of it the child safe. She regretted much for her hasty action. Her husband who came to know of her sin left her and proceeded on a tour of pilgrimage. Her entreaties to follow him fell flat on his deaf ears. But he handed over to her a copy of a *śloka* by which she was to gain her redemption. With that verse in her hand she wandered in distress throughout the city to find one who could get relief for her. Kovalan saw this and by proper *prāyascīta* he absolved her of her guilt after which she was once more united with her husband.

This legend which is distinctly South Indian has been incorporated in the *Pañcatantra*¹ which is a mine of folklore. The story runs that a Brahman lady left her child under the care of her husband and went out to the tank with a pot to fetch water. The Brāhman also soon left the house, even before his wife returned, to get alms. In the meantime a cobra came very near the child's bed. Luckily there was a mongoose on the spot. It sprang on it, killed it and saved the youngster. When the lady came, she found the mongoose at the front gate with its face covered with blood, and little thinking that it could not have killed her darling, she threw the pot on the poor creature as a result of which it met with instantaneous death. But when she went in and saw what had happened, her grief knew no bounds. She detested her husband for having left the home avarice-sick for which he paid the penalty by losing his son. Therefore it is said 'that one must not do anything without previous examination and good deal of thinking.' Hasty action always leads to regret.

¹ See the *Pañcatantra Reconstructed* by F., Edgerton (American Oriental Series 1924, Vo. III, pp. 401-5.)

For another version see *Tantrākhyāyika* by Dr. J., Hertel (Harvard Or. Series pp. 132-33).

aparikṣya na kartavyam kartavyam suparikṣitam
paścād bhavati santāpam brāhmaṇi nakulam yathā

This moral of a śloka in which the legend ends is quoted by Adiyārkunallār, the commentator of the *Śilappadikāram* as the very verse oft referred to in the *Śilappadikāram*. We meet with a number of similar folk myths which are the common property of all peoples and which migrate from one place to another.

Let us now examine the Buddhist tradition and see how far it has been used in the Tamil literary tradition. The Jātaka stories which claim a greater antiquity must have become popular in the early centuries of the Christian era as is evident from the *Maṇimekalai* which is roughly assigned to the 2nd Century.¹ A. D.

According to the *Jātakas*² Maṇimekalai was the guardian of the sea appointed to save worthy persons shipwrecked in the sea from being drowned in the deep waters. The deity left them to themselves for seven days, and on the eighth day took cognizance of deserving men. The story goes that then the righteous Brahman Śaṅkha was thrown overboard and was struggling for life for seven days, the deity appeared before him and after satisfying his hunger made him reach home safe. This story has its exact counterpart in the Tamil classic³ *Maṇimekalai*. The deity Maṇimekalādaivam is appointed by Indra, the lord of heaven, to protect the passengers on the sea from being shipwrecked or otherwise disturbed by the Rākṣasas and Asuras. It is said that a predecessor of Kovalan who sailed on commercial business was shipwrecked, and it was Maṇimekalādaivam which saved him from finding a watery grave. It is significant to note that the merchant continued to swim for seven days on the seas when the deity offered succour. This was because he was a man of righteous conduct and deserved help.⁴

¹ See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* pp. 74-5.

² Nos. 442 and 539 Vol. VI. Cowell ed.

³ *Maṇi*, Canto 25. 11. 207-11

Ibid 29. 1. 19.

⁴ *Śilapp*. Canto 15, 11. 29-37. See for details author's paper on *Buddhism in Tamil literature*, in the *Buddhist Studies* ed. by B. C. Law, Cal. 1931-pp. 679-80; see also Sylvan Levi's articles on the *Maṇimekalai* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII pp. 173. pp. 371 ff.

While there seems to be no doubt that the ancient Tamils have incorporated the legends from the Buddhist books, there is also much that could be spoken the other way round. The Ceylon chronicles, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dīpavamsa*, have several legends in common with the Indian folktales. Some of these may be mentioned here. There is first the well-known story of Manunīti-kaṇḍacolan legendary in character. When that Cola king was ruling he caused the bell of justice to be hung near the palace gate so that it could be accessible to all, even to the animals. Once it happened that the Crown Prince went out in his chariot for a ride. On the way his vehicle ran over a calf. Its mother the cow grew wrathful and rang the bell of justice at the palace gate with its horns. The king found his son guilty of a grave crime and had him executed.¹

An interesting parallel to this story is found in the *Mahāvamsa*. It was the reigning time of King Elara, highly reputed for his even justice. At the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long rope the end of which was outside, so that those who pleaded for justice might ring the bell by pulling the rope. This king had only one son and a daughter. When this prince was riding in a car to the Tissa tank, he killed accidentally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow. In great distress the cow rang the bell. Finding that his son had done wrong, the king ordered his son's head to be severed by the same wheel.²

We may also call attention to another folklore story, very popular among the Tamils even today. This is about an ancient Tamil king, known as Kumara Cakravarti. Tradition says that he was a mountain chieftain and that he won much fame by his liberal and munificent gifts. It so happened that his brother deprived him of his kingdom and so Kumara had to seek refuge in the wild forest. He knew that his brother had set a price on his head. Once a śaṅgam poet by name Peruntalai Śāttanar met Kumara by accident and asked for alms. To this he handed over his sword to the poet to chop off his head and earn a reward from his brother, the usurper.³

A variant of this story is told by *Mahāvamsa*. Sri Śaṅga-

¹ Palamoli 93. See also *Periyapurānam*, *Manunīti Kanta Purānam*.

² Ch. XXI. p. 143. Trans. by W. Geiger 1912.

³ *Puṛam*. st. 158 and 165.

bodhi was one of the rulers who reigned in Anurādhapura, Ceylon. He was a pious king and kept the five precepts of the Buddhists to their letter and spirit. His minister who was known by the name Gothabhya had turned out a rebel and was marching towards the capital. The king fled alone by the south gate. A passerby entreated him to eat of his food. After the meal, in order to show kindness to the other, Śaṃgabodhi said; 'I am the king Śaṃgabodhi. Take thou my head and show it to Gothabhaya. He will give thee much gold.' The poor man would not do so, and to aid him, the king died himself when the other took his head and showed it to Gothabhya. The latter presented him with much gold. ¹

Such legends must be handled only with caution by students of history. But that their study has its own cultural value cannot for a moment be doubted. These legends reflect the tendencies of the age and portray ideas firmly rooted in the beliefs of the times. To this extent they are of great value though generally they will be found clothed in the garb of mythological lore. And it is for students of ancient history and culture to detach fact from fiction, on which alone much depends for a right understanding of genuine history.

¹ *Mahāvāṇīśa*, Trans. by Wm. Geiger Ch. XXXVI p. 263.

INFLUENCE OF TANTRA ON THE SMṚTI-NIBANDHAS

B

Y

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA, M. A.

Part I

The Tantras are one of the factors which have contributed to the growth and development of the present Smṛti-Nibandhas. They are of non-Vedic origin and deal with mystic rites and practices which could never attract the favourable notice of the staunch followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Tantriks (including the Śāktas, the Āgamic Śaivas, the Pāñcarātras, the Kāpālikas, and others who imbibed Tantric practices) were originally not regarded with favour by their brethren of the Brahmanical fold. The latter called the former heretics (pāṣaṇḍinaḥ) and classed them with the outcasts (patita). They bathed with all their garments if they chanced to touch these so-called heretics¹ whose literatures also were much looked down upon. Such being the feeling borne by the staunch followers of the Brahmanical religion against the Tantriks, it seems somewhat strange to find Tantric influence imbibed in the earlier Nibandhas and the authority of the Tantras as a source of 'dharma' recognised in the comparatively late Smṛti works. Hence the question naturally arises as to how the Tantras, which have always been styled 'Veda-bāhya' by the Smṛti-writers, came to influence the Nibandhas. In the following pages we shall try to find an answer to this and see the gradual progress and extent of such influence.

The writers on Smṛti, which is a continuation of a branch of the Vedic literature, seem to be divided into two sections viz. (i) those who adhered to the Vedic customs and rituals and regarded the orthodox Brahmanical works as authorities,

¹ Ṣaṭtrimśan-mate—

Bauddhān Pāsupatān-Jainān Lokāyatika-Kāpilān |

vikarmasthān dvijān sprṣṭvā sacelo jalam-āviśet ||

Kāpālikāṁstu saṁsprṣya prāṇāyāmo'dhiko mataḥ |

Smṛti-candrikā II, p. 310.

and (ii) others who were liberal enough to admit the influence and authority of the Purāṇas, by which are meant the present ones professing sectarian Hinduism. These two divisions, which are clearly perceptible in the Nibandhas, should be traced to the Smṛti-Saṃhitās certainly posterior in time to those of Manu and Yājñavalkya. As we possess very few of the Smṛti works which were written between Yājñavalkya and the Nibandhas, we are not sure when such a division began. The later Saṃhitās, found embodied in the *Īnāvīmśati Saṃhitā* (Vaṅgavāsi edition) and betraying the influence of the Purāṇic religion by their references to and enumerations of the holy places (cf. *Śaṅkha-Saṃhitā*, Chapter XIV; *Viṣṇu-Saṃ*, Chapter 85; and *Atri-Saṃ*, verses 135 ff), their direction as to the worship of Gaṇeśa, the fourteen Mātṛkās (*Kālyāṇa-Saṃ*, I, 11 ff), Yama, Śiva etc. (*Uśanas-Saṃ*, IX, 105-108) and the like, seem to point to a time anterior to the ninth century A. D. Whatever the period of this division may be, it is, however, doubtless that the influence of the Purāṇas on Smṛti was due to the spread and popularity of the Purāṇic Hinduism. The mention of 'Purāṇa' as one of the fourteen sources of 'dharma'¹ might also work at the basis of this influence. The Purāṇas, as we have them now, were meant to revive the Varnāśrama-dharma and establish the authority of the Vedas by making a compromise between the Vedic and the popular religions, one of the peculiar traits of this compromise being the chastening of the popular form of worship which was permeated with mystic rites and practices from the Tantras. It should not be thought that by this process of chastening the influence of the Tantras was entirely removed. Some of the mystic practices, viz. the performance of nyāsa and mudrā, the drawing of coloured lotuses or circles during worship, the blocking of the quarters to avoid evil influence, and the like, which did not go against the Vedic practices but in the efficacy of which the authors of the Purāṇas probably believed greatly, were retained. The underlying motive of this retention might have been to win the mind of the people by retaining some of their beliefs but we can not lay

¹ Purāṇa-Nyāya-Mīmāṃsā-Dharmaśāstrāṅga-miśritāḥ |

Vedāḥ sthānāni vidyānām dharmasya ca caturdaśa ||

Yājñavalkya-Smṛti I, 3.

much stress on this supposition. However, this somewhat liberal idea held by the authors of the Purāṇas towards the popular practices was mainly responsible for liberalising the views of that small section of the Smṛti-writers which valued the Purāṇic religion. Consequently, a few of the comparatively late Smṛti-Saṁhitās which are certainly dated earlier than the Nibandhas, imbibed Tantric practices to supplement those of saṁdhyā, pūjā, etc.

The number of the Smṛti-Saṁhitās, which valued the Purāṇas as sources of 'dharma' and imbibed Tantric practices, was so very small that they could affect the Nibandhas very little. Hence in the Nibandhas the influence of the Purāṇas is slow to emerge. There are some commentators on Smṛti-Saṁhitās and authors of digests who have intentionally avoided quoting the Purāṇas. For example, Viśvarūpācārya (750-1000 A. D., but most probably between 800 and 850 A. D.) in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* quotes not even a single verse from any Purāṇa though he profusely draws upon both Sūtra and Saṁhitā works of no less than 37 Smṛti-writers. It is not that before Viśvarūpa the Purāṇas did not contain any Smṛti-matter but the fact seems to be that Viśvarūpa was quite unwilling to regard the Purāṇas as one of the sources of 'dharma' perhaps on account of the latter's professing a 'dharma' which is composite (vyāmiśra) and, consequently, inferior (āvara) to the Vedic. Viññāneśvara, in his *Mitākṣarā*, follows his predecessor Viśvarūpa in avoiding Purāṇa quotations to a great extent but not totally. The few verses quoted by him from the Purāṇas show that he could not fully ignore the authority of the Purāṇas though he tried to do so. Bhavadeva, in his *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* (also called the *Daśakarma-paddhati* or *Daśakarma-dīpikā*) quotes none of the Purāṇas but in his *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa* quotes a few verses from the Matsya and the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa. There are other Smṛti-writers who regard the Purāṇas as sources of 'dharma' and have no hesitation in quoting them, but even in their works the influence of the Purāṇas is not very great in the beginning but increases with the progress of time. Such a gradual increase in the influence is due undoubtedly to the growing popularity of the Purāṇic Hinduism and thereby of the Purāṇas themselves. But the credit of liberalising the idea of the

Nibandha-writers should perhaps be given to those few authors of Smṛti-Samhitās who first acknowledged the authority of the Purāṇas and imbibed certain Tantric practices.

Thus, primarily the Purāṇas and secondarily the comparatively late Smṛti-Samhitās were the causes of the Tantric influence on the Nibandhas. The authorities, viz. the Purāṇas and the Smṛti-Samhitās, quoted by the authors of the Nibandhas to sanction the Tantric practices and the Śākta forms of worship, strengthen this supposition.

We have said above that the Purāṇas retained certain Tantric elements from the popular practices. The great spread of the Tantric cult among the Hindus and the Buddhists made its influence felt more and more by the Purāṇas. Consequently, the later the interpolations were made in the Purāṇas, the greater the Tantric practices made their way into them; and the greater the authority of the Purāṇas recognised by the Nibandha-writers, the greater the Tantric influence found in their works. The Śākta Purāṇas, viz. the *Devī* and the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, which also are called 'Purāṇa' and are, therefore, deemed equally authoritative, accelerated the Tantric influence on the Nibandhas. These Śākta Purāṇas, though often denouncing the Tantras,¹ naturally contained more Tantric matter than any other Purāṇa.

Let us now proceed to examine those Nibandhas the dates of which fall between 1050 and 1600 A. D. The Nibandhas which were written earlier than 1050 A. D. are not extant, and those which are dated later than 1600 A. D. are left out of consideration here. The works, which we propose to examine, will be divided roughly, for the sake of convenience, into several groups according to the different periods to which they belong. These periods will range from (1) 1050 to 1150 A. D., (2) 1150 to 1250 A. D., (3) 1250 to 1400 A. D., (4) 1400 to 1500 A. D., and (5) 1500 to 1600 A. D.

(1) 1050—1150 A. D.

Of the works belonging to the period from 1050 to 1150 A. D., the *Kālaviveka* of Jimūtavāhana, Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*, Aniruddha's *Pitṛdayitā*, and Ballālasena's *Dāna-sāgara* are examined below. Though Lakṣmīdhara, the

¹ Cf. *Devī-bhāgavata* (Vaṅgavāsī edition) VII, 39, 14ff wherein the Tantras are discredited and called 'mohana-śāstra' and arguments are put forth to establish the superiority of the Vedic 'dharma.'

author of the *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, also belongs to this period, he has not been taken into consideration, his work being extremely difficult to procure. There were also several other authors, viz. Halāyudha, Kāmadhenu, Pārijāta, Prakāśa, and others, who flourished about this period but of whom we know only from quotations.

The *Kālaviveka* of Jimūtavāhana (1090-1130 A. D.)

The *Kālaviveka*¹, which deals with the proper time for various religious ceremonies, contains very little which can be called Tantric. Only in pp. 511 ff. it deals with the worship of Durgā, a Śākta deity. This worship consists of bodhana, patrikā-pūjā, bali-dāna, etc. A quotation is made to show the different mediums of worship which may be a phallus (līṅga), an altar, a book, a pārśvaka, an image, a picture, a trident, a sword (of the length of 15 aṅgulas), or water. It is noteworthy that neither the yantras nor the maṇḍalas are accepted as mediums. According to two verses quoted under the name of 'Kātyāyana-śloka' the offer of meat is one of the main items of worship. On the daśamī tithi the Śāvara festival (Śāvarotsava) is to be performed. During this festival, those taking part in it have to cover their bodies with leaves and besmear themselves with mud and other things to resemble the Śavaras. They have to jump and dance at random, sing, and beat drums.² From a quoted passage this Śāvara festival is found further to require not only topics on and songs about sexual union but also the action itself. The violation of this, it is said, incurs the rage and curse of Bhagavatī. This Śāvara festival seems to point to the fact that originally the worship of Durgā was not an Aryan festival. The *Harivaṃśa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition) contains a hymn to Yoga-māyā in which she is called Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, etc. and is said to be worshipped on the Vindhya hills by the Śavaras, Varvaras and the Pulindas.³

1. Edited by Prāmātha Nātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

2. 'Śāvara-varṇa iva parṇādyāvṛta-kardamādi-lipta-śarīro nānāvidhā-sambaddha-valgita-nṛtya-gīta-vādyādi-paro bhūtvā iti Śāvarotsava-padārthaḥ'. This is the explanation of the word 'Śāvarotsava' mentioned in a quotation from Satya. Cf. *Kālaviveka*, p. 514.

3. Śavarair-Varvaraiś-caiva Pulindaiś-ca supūjitā |
mayūra-piccha-dhvajinī lokān kramasi sarvaśaḥ ||
kukkuṭaiś-ohāgalair-meṣaiḥ sīmhair-vyāghraiḥ samākulā
ghaṭṭaiś-nināda-bahulā Vindhya-vāsiny-abhiśrutā ||

Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu-parvan, 3, 7-8.

Though the worship of Durgā is a Śākta one, the authorities quoted by Jimūtavāhana are : *Bhagavatī--Purāṇa*, *Vyāsa*, *Linga--Purāṇa*, *Bhaviṣya--Purāṇa*, *Devī--Purāṇa*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Jyotiḥ--śāstra*, *Saṭya*, and *Varāha*, there being no mention of the Tantras.

Aparārka's commentary on Yāj.

This work of Aparārka (about 1125 A. D.), who was a Śilahara prince most probably of northern Konkan,¹ is more a digest than a commentary. He quotes profusely from both the Smṛti-works and the Purāṇas but never from the Tantras. Towards the beginning of his commentary he discusses the authoritativeness of the sectarian literatures, viz. Tantras, Āgamas, etc. and from this discussion we can have an idea of his view.

From the evidence of the commentary it seems that Aparārka was not at all favourably disposed towards those who were influenced by the Tantras. The Kāpālika, Sāttvatas, etc. are classed by him with the outcasts (patita) and he explains the word 'pāṣaṇḍin' occurring in Yāj. I, 130 as 'Veda-bāhyāgama-vihita-kārī pāṣaṇḍī' (cf. Aparārka, pp. 143 and 170 respectively).

Though Aparārka holds the Purāṇas in high esteem, he does not recognise the authority of the scriptures of the Pāsupatas, Āgamic Śaivas, Vāmas, Dakṣiṇas, Kāpilas, Pāñcarātras and others as sources of 'dharma.' Following the Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa, which recommends only the Purāṇas as authorities on the composite religion (i. e. the Purāṇic religion), Aparārka ignores the sectarian scriptures and says that in the worship of deities (deva-pūjā), initiation (dikṣā), consecration (pratiṣṭhā), etc. the rites prescribed by the Purāṇas, such as the *Narasimha*, should be followed and not otherwise.²

¹ Cf. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 332-3.

² tataś-ca deva-pūjāḍau Narasimha-purāṇādi-prasiddhaivetikartavyatā grāhyā nānyā | evaṁ dikṣāyām-apy-avagantavyaṁ |

Aparārka, p. 14.

evaṁ pratiṣṭhāyām-api purāṇādyuktaiveti-kartavyatā grāhyā nānyā | teṣāṁ-eva vyāmiśra-dharma-pramāṇatvena Bhaviṣyat-purāṇe pariññatavāt |

Ibid, p. 15.

In spite of all his strictness as regards the inclusion of the sectarian scriptures in the sources of 'dharma' Aparārka does not lack the largeness of mind of a real scholar. He allows the study of sectarian literatures for only an acquaintance with their contents¹ but does not admit the substitution of the Vedic literature with these. He is even liberal enough to supplement the Vedic customs and rituals with those from sectarian literatures which do not go against his own. But the customs which are contradictory to those recommended by his own śāstras must be discarded.² He is of opinion that, as the Śaivas, Pāñcarātras, and others are often hated very much and also their literatures are looked down upon, whatever will be taken from their literatures should be tested by the authority of the Purāṇas.³ These literatures should be taken as supplementary and not as the main, the limitation even in that case being that those derived from man (pauruṣeya) must not only be discarded but also hated.⁴

Aparārka, though holding the Purāṇas in high esteem, does not like to follow unhesitatingly the directions of any book known as 'Purāṇa' and is particularly careful about the Śākta Purāṇas. He recognises the worship of the Śākta goddesses, Caṇḍikā and others, but forbids the use of wine or the painting of the eyes with specially made collyrium for the sake of Vaśikaraṇa etc. as directed by the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*. For the prohibition of wine the *Erahma-Purāṇa* is quoted as authority. There are also further quotations from Manu and others to show that the acts of Vaśikaraṇa etc. are impious and should be

¹ Vāma-Dakṣiṇāmnāyādiḥnānamātram-evopādeyaṁ ।

Ibid., p. 17.

² Vāma-Dakṣiṇādiḥnānaḥ-ca svaśāstrāpekṣitasya tacchāstroktasyāviruddhasyāṅgasya kasyacit svikārārthan.....viruddhasya tu tyāga eveti ।

Ibid., p. 17.

³ tasmāt purāṇādiyuktiparyālocanenaivānuṣṭhānamādartavyaṁ ।

Ibid., p. 18.

⁴ tasmād-aduṣyatvenaiva Śaivādi pramāṇamanuṣṭheyatve tvaṅgatvena kenacit kvacidamśenādeyaṁ sākalyena nānuṣṭheyam-iti sthitaṁ । tatrāpi yat pauruṣeyaṁ na kevalam-ananuṣṭheyam tad-yāvad-apramāṇam-apīti heyam-apīti siddhaṁ ।

Ibid., p. 19.

considered as upa-pātakas.¹ Aparārka's high regard for everything Vedic does not allow him to accept as a consecrator of an image a man who is a staunch sectarian by learning and accomplishments. Hence, he cannot agree with the *Devī-Purāṇa* but prefers the directions of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* for the latter's stricter views. According to the *Devī-Purāṇa* the consecrators of the images of gods and goddesses of different sects should be fully acquainted with the scriptures and customs of those sects only, but the *Matsya-Purāṇa* says that they should not only be men of good character and conduct but should also be versed in the Purāṇas and know 'dharma' and the use of the Vedic mantras².

- 1 "dīrgha-kālaṁ brahmacaryaṁ " ityādinā
madyāder-Brahmapurāṇādaṁ sāmānyato
varjyatvenābhīhitatvāt । otena Caṇḍikādyupahārā vyākhyātāḥ ,
yad-apyañjana-vidhau Kālikā-Purāṇe—
" Kapāla-saṁpuṭe kṛtvā mahātāila-ghṛte tathā ।

iti tat "atha śatruṁ mārayitukāmaḥ śmaśāna-kāṣṭhahiraṇmī
prajvālya " itivat
"śyenenābhicāraṁ yajeta " itivad-vādhārma eva ।
himsādivad-vaśīkaraṇāder-api tatra tatra niṣiddhatvāt ।
tathā ca—"himsasauśadhināṁ stryājīvo' bhicāro
mūlakarma ca " iti Manuṁ vāśīkaraṇam—
upapātaka-madhye paṇigāṇitam ।

Ibid., p. 15.

- 2 yad-api Devī-Purāṇe—
" Vāma-Dakṣiṇa-vettā yo Mātṛ-vedārthapāragah ।
sa bhavet sthāpakah śreṣṭho devīnāṁ Mātaraḥ (trkā) su ca ॥
Pāñcarātrārtha-kuśalo Mātṛtantra-viśāradaḥ ।
Viṣṇor-grhī sadā śānto brahmacārī ca śāntidaḥ ॥
Śiva-śāsana-vettā yo graha-Mātṛ-gaṇārthavit ।
grhastho brahmacārī ca sthāpakah kīrtitah Śive ॥
saurārtha-vedakah sūrye sthāpakah pūjakah śubhaḥ ॥ "
iti, tad-api na vāhyāgamānuṣṭhānalingam ।
tad-anuṣṭhānasya ca Matsya-Purāṇe niṣiddhatvāt ।
tathā ca Matsya-Purāṇam—
" sthāpakasya samāśena lakṣaṇaṁ śṛṇveta dvijāḥ ।
sarvāvayava-sampanno Veda-mantra-viśāradaḥ ।
purāṇa-vettā dharmajño dambha-lobha-vivarjitah ।
kṛṣṇa-āra-care deśe ya utpannah śubhākṛtiḥ ॥
śaucācāra-paro nityaṁ pāṣaṇḍa-kula-nisprhaḥ ।

Ibid., p. 16.

With all his abhorrence of the sectaries and their literatures, Aparārka has allowed certain Tantric practices to creep into his work mainly through the Purāṇas which he respected much. The numerous verses quoted on the gift of cows from the *Skanda-Purāṇa* contain a Tantric mantra which is to be whispered into the ear of the cow to be given away.¹ A passage from the *Matsya-Purāṇa* dealing with 'tulāpurusa-dāna' involves the painting, with powders of various colours, of a circle containing the figure of a lotus inside it.² In another passage from the same Purāṇa dealing with the dedication of tanks we find that before worship a 'maṇḍala' of a particular kind is to be described with the figure of a lotus inside it and coloured with five hues. The method of worshipping Viṣṇu after bath is described after the *Narasimha-Purāṇa* which is quoted as authority. The medium of worship is water, the fire, the heart, the sun, an altar, or an image. The sixteen verses (१६) of the Puruṣa-sūkta which is the mantra in this worship is to be placed (nyāsa) on the different parts of the body after the manner of the Tantriks. The sixteen articles of worship (upacāra) are to be offered with the citation of the sixteen verses. Then the worshipper is to meditate on Viṣṇu and look at the sun citing the verse 'hamsaḥ śuciṣat—'³ Aparārka seems to have great belief in the sect-mark 'Ūrdhva-puṇḍra' which is to be painted on the body after bath. As to the efficacy of this mark he quotes Satyavrata who says "There can be no doubt about the fact that even a Candāla, on whose forehead the white (sect-mark) Ūrdhva-puṇḍra is found painted with mud, becomes pure and worthy of worship."⁴

1 Om hrīm namo bhagavati Brahma-mātar-Viṣṇu-bhagini
Rudra-daivate sarva-pāpa-pramocini.....
ide idānte.....ehyehj
hum kuru hum kuru.....svāhā |
iti dhenu-karṇa-japaḥ |

-Ibid. , p. 295.

2 * * * cakram likhed-vārija-garbha-yuktaṁ nānārajobhir-bhuvī
puṣpa-kirṇaṁ * * *

-Ibid. , pp. 313-319.

3 Ibid. , pp. 140--141.

4 Ibid. , p. 134.

Aparārka admits the Purāṇic Dikṣā (initiation) but not the Tantric one, which, on account of the 'jāti-śodhana', makes one unfit for taking part in any Vedic rite. ¹

The *Pitṛdayitū* of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa.

In the *Pitṛdayitū* (also called the *Karmopadeśinī-paddhati*).² Aniruddha (about 1150 A. D.) proposes to deal, after Gobhila, with saṁdhyā, snāna, vaiśvadeva, śrāddha etc. for the Chandogas. He also says that to write the *Karmopadeśinī-paddhati* he consulted the *Gobhilagr̥hyasūtra*, the *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa*, the *Smṛtis*, the *Purāṇas*, the works of Gotama and Vasiṣṭha, and numerous quotations occurring in the digests. ³

Though the nature of the work shows that it should have little to do with the Tantras, really it is not totally free from their influence. The belief in the magic power of certain Tantric practices was too strong for Aniruddha to be got rid of. So, even in a work meant for those belonging to a Vedic school, he cannot but introduce some practices which are derived from the Tantras. For example, at the time of performing the saṁdhyā a man is to encircle himself with a line of water for protection (obviously from evil influence) after citing the mantra. ⁴ He should also summon the gods (āvāhana), place the syllable 'Om' on the different parts of his body (Omkāra-nyāsa), and block the quarters (dig-bandhana).

The *Dāna-sāgara* of Ballālasena (about 1150 A. D.)

In the *Dāna-sāgara* ⁵ Ballālasena deals with the different varieties of gifts quoting at every step verses and even entire chapters

¹ na hi purāṇa-prasiddhāyām dikṣāyām
jāti-śodhanam-asti |
Saivāgameṣu tu—
“ prathamam sthāvarā jātiḥ |
etās-tu jātayaḥ śodhyā jātīśena Śivena vā || ”
ityādinā tacchodhana-darśanāc-chrautakarmānadhikāritva--pra-
saktiḥ | etc.

Ibid. , p. 14.

² Published by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisat, Calcutta.

³ *Pitṛdayitū* p. 1.

⁴ Om-kārasya Brahma ṛṣiḥ iti rakṣārtham vāriṇātmānam
veṣṭayitvā

Ibid. , p. 5.

⁵ India Office Ms.

from the Smṛtis, the epics and the Purāṇas. Towards the beginning of his work Ballālasena gives us some information about the nature and the contents of the Purāṇas and the Upa-Purāṇas. From this we understand that he was not at all favourably disposed towards the Tantriks and had little regard for the scriptures and the practices of these people. He does not draw upon the *Devī-Purāṇa* on the ground that it is excluded from the lists of the Purāṇas and the Upa-Purāṇas on account of its dealing with questionable practices and that it follows the scriptures of the pāśaṇḍas.¹ Though he thus denounces the *Devī-Purāṇa*, he has little scruple in quoting the *Kālīkū-Purāṇa*, which is also a Śākta Purāṇa not devoid of Tantric element, most probably on account of the fact that the *Kālīkū-Purāṇa* contained much less Tantric element than the *Devī-Purāṇa* of his time.

In spite of all his abhorrence of the Tantriks and their literature and practices, Ballāla has not been able to keep his work entirely free from Tantric element which, as found in his work, consists of the drawing of a circle or lotus before worship and which has been admitted only through the passages drawn from the Purāṇas. For example, to describe the 'tulāpuruṣa-dāna', the whole chapter 274 of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* is quoted in the *Dāna-sāgara* (fol. 27a-31b). According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* this gift requires the drawing of a circle with the coloured figure of a lotus inside it.²

(2) 1150—1250 A. D.

Of the Nibandhas belonging to this period we shall examine the *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara, the *Vājasaneyi Daśakarmapaddhati* of Paśupati, the *Brāhmaṇasaraśva* of Halāyudha (of Bengal), and the *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devanabhaṭṭa. There were also other

¹ tattat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṁkhyā-bahiskṛtaṁ kalmaṣa-karma-yogāt |
pāśaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṁ nirūpya Devī-purāṇaṁ na nibandha(dda ?)
matra ||

-Dāna-sāgara, fol. 4a.

² cakram likhed-vārijagarbha-yuktaṁ nānā-rajobhir-bhuvī-puṣpa-kīrṇaṁ |

-Ibid., fol. 29a.

Also of. cakra-likhanārtha-pañcavarṇa-taṇḍulaguṇḍikāṁ cakrē-
latmkaraṇārthaṁ puṣpārjana (?) sāmāgrīm |

fol. 32a.

Nibandhakāras who flourished about this time but of them we know mainly from quotations.

The *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara.

The *Smṛtyarthasāra*¹ of Śrīdhara (1150—1200 A. D.), who probably hailed from Southern India² is an authoritative work and is found quoted in the *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devanabhāṭṭa and the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri.

From the colophon it seems that Śrīdhara was himself a performer of Vedic sacrifices. The contents of his work also testify to this fact. In his work he deals mainly with the Smārta rites, viz. sacraments, initiation, studentship, marriage, bath, Vedic saṁdhyā, homa, śrāddha, prāyaścitta etc, with the addition of instructions on the worship of the sectarian deities. From the orthodox way of treatment of all these and from the use of the Vedic mantras, he appears to be more inclined to the Vedas and the Vedic rituals than to anything else.

In spite of all his regard for the Vedas, Śrīdhara could not go against his own times and ignore the influence and the authority of the Purāṇas, the authorities used by him, as he says, being the Śruti, the Smṛti, the Purāṇa and the Nibandhakāras. Hence he has felt it advisable to include among the duties of the people, the daily worship of the Purāṇic gods and goddesses viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśāna, Sūrya, Agni, Gaṇādhipa, Durgā, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī or Gaurī, the mediums of worship being added to by the picture (paṭa) the Mudrās (coins?) and the Śālagrāma marked with circles (Śālagrāme ca cakrāṅke). The mantras may be Vedic (viz. the puruṣa-sūkta, gāyatrī or praṇava) or otherwise. In the use of the non-Vedic mantras the worshipper should have previous permission of his spiritual preceptor. The Sūdras also are allowed to worship these deities themselves, the mantras in their case being merely the names of the respective deities. The method of worship should be as narrated above. The Tantric method also may be followed by all the members of the four castes, if it does not go against the Vedic one. But that Tantric

¹ AnSS. ed.

² Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, Vol. I, p. 337.

method, which is totally contradictory to the Vedic procedure, should be discarded. ¹

From the option which Śrīdhara has allowed as to the choice of the method of worship, it seems that Śrīdhara is not very unfavourably disposed towards the Tantras. By this allowance he makes a great advance over Aparārka who permits only the Purāṇic way of worship but does not grudge the supplementing of the Vedic rituals with those, from the sectarian literatures, which do not go against the former.

The works of Paśupati and Halāyudha

Paśupati, the elder brother of Halāyudha of Bengal, is the author of the *Vājasaneyi Daśaku mapaddhati*.² The very title of the work suggests that it should have little to do with the Tantric practices. Though Paśupati says that he has followed the Nibandhas (Nibandhānusāreṇa) in writing his work, he quotes none. He seems to be a staunch Vedic but recommends the worship of the Mātr̥s in initiation (upanayana).³

From quotations we know that Paśupati wrote other works including the *Śaiva-sarvasva* and the *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva*. The titles of these two works prove their sectarian character. So, even if these works contained Tantric elements in a much greater degree, we would not have been astonished, the sectarian literatures having the Tantric influence at a very early period.

The *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*⁴ of Halāyudha (1175-1200 A. D.) also deals mainly with the Vedic rites and customs in which the

¹ Atha devatārcana-vidhiḥ—

Brahmāṇaṁ Viṣṇuṁ-Īśānaṁ Sūryam -Agniṁ Gaṇādhipam ,
Durgāṁ Sarasvatīm Lakṣmīm Gaurīm vā nityam-arcayet ||
Apsvagnau hṛdaye sūrye sthaṇḍile pratimāsu ca |
Śālāgrāme ca cakrāṅke paṭe mudrāsu devatāḥ ||
pauruṣeṇaiva sūktena gāyatrīyā praṇavena ca |
tālīṅgair-eva vā mantrair-arcayed-gurvanujñāyā ||
devatā-nāmaḥbhīr-ā syāc-caturthy-antair-namo'nvitaiḥ |
Sūdrāṇāṁ caiva bhavati nāmnā vai devatārcanaṁ |
sarve vāgama-mārgeṇa kuryur-vedānusāriṇā ||
guruktena prakāreṇa veda-vāhyena nārcayet |

Smṛtyarthasāra, pp. 44-45.

² Dacca University Mss. Library, Mss. No. 1567 A and D.

³ D. U. Ms. 1567A. fol. 6b. (Gauryādi-mātr̥pūjā).

⁴ Dacca University Ms. No. K554. The first leaf is lost.

Vedic mantras are used, but he does not reject the Purāṇic ones. He describes the methods of worshipping the Sun, Śiva and others after the Purāṇas, once quotes the *Padma-Purāṇa* for the drawing of a lotus (padma) in the worship of the Sun,¹ and recognises the worship of Candī² and the use of the akṣa-mālā. He admits that in his time it was the custom to use the Purāṇic mantras in the worship of the gods.³

The *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devanabhaṭṭa (1150—1225 A. D.)

The *Smṛti-candrikā*⁴ of Devanabhaṭṭa, a South Indian writer,⁵ is one of the most important digests which were written during the period 1150—1250 A. D. From the fact that it was looked upon as authoritative and quoted by such prominent authors as Hemādri (of Southern India), Pratāparudradeva (of Orissa), Mitrāmīśra (author of the *Vīra-mitrodaya*, probably of Benares) and others, it is clear that it occupied a very high place among the contemporary works as well as among those which followed it. Hence it can be taken as a reliable record of the Tantric influence on the Nibandhas of that time.

Though Devanabhaṭṭa calls himself a Yājñika,⁶ he does not ignore the Purāṇic gods and goddesses; nor does he disrespect them. He begins his work by saluting Gaṇeśa and the goddess of speech (Vāgīśvarī).⁷ From the fact that he describes the method of the worship of Viṣṇu only⁸ and quotes a verse in which the Śaivas and the Pāśupatas are denounced as untouchable and also a line from the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* which says "There is no Vedic act more pious than the worship of Viṣṇu,"⁹ it seems that he was a Viṣṇu-worshipper. It is his regard for the Purāṇic

¹ Ibid., fol. 28a.

² Ibid., fol. 30b.

³ *Atra yadyapi Sūryādi-devatā-pūjāsu paureṇika-mantrāḥ bahava eva vhitāḥ santi tathāpy-asmābhīr-Vaidikamantrasyopakrāntatvāt tat-prasaṅge-naivānuṣṭhānābhidhānam* ! etc.

Ibid., fol. 28a.

⁴ Published by the Govt. of Mysore.

⁵ Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 344.

⁶ *yājñika-Devanabhaṭṭopādhyāyena viracitā* etc.

—*Smṛti-candrikā*, Vol. II, p. 404.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 1 (Vāgīśvarīṁ Gaṇeśam ca natvā etc.)

⁸ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 531.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 534.

13 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

deities and their worship that has made his work susceptible to the Tantric influence like those of his predecessors.

Though, from the few Tantric traces that are met with in the *Smṛti-candrikā*, Devanabhaṭṭa also does not appear, like his predecessors, to be very favourably inclined towards the Tantras, yet he seems to have had greater faith in the magic power of the Tantric practices. Such an impression about his attitude is created in our mind especially by the method of the *Vaidikī (prātaḥ) saṁdhyā* which he has described in his work. Aparārka introduced certain Tantric practices in the *Vaidikī saṁdhyā* but Devanabhaṭṭa makes a greater advance over him. According to the latter this *saṁdhyā* should include *aṅga-nyāsa*, *kara-nyāsa*, *varṇa-dhyāna*, *mudrā* and *gāyatrī-kavaca*.¹ Before performing the *nyāsa*s the hands are to be purified with the citation of the *astra-mantra*.² The number of the *mudrā*s that are prescribed on the occasion is not very small, their names being :— *Sammukha*, *Samputa*, *Vitata*, *Vistirṇa*, *Dvimukha*, *Trimukha*, *Caturmukha*, *Pañcamukha*, *Ṣaṣmukha*, *Adhomukha*, *Vyāpakāñjalika*, *Śakaṭa*, *Yama-pāśa*, *Grathita*, *Ṣaṣmukhonmukha*, *Vilamba*, *Muṣṭika*, *Mina*, *Kūrma*, *Varāha*, *Simhākrānta*, *Mahākrānta*, *Mudgara* and *Pallava*. The processes of performing these *mudrā*s are also described. The varieties of the *nyāsa*s and the *mudrā*s amply testify to the belief of Devanabhaṭṭa in the magic power of the Tantric practices. The idea underlying the *gāyatrī-kavaca* (i. e. the armour made of *gāyatrī*) is also derived from the belief of the Tantriks in the protective capacity of their mantras. The authorities quoted on *nyāsa* are *Vyāsa* and *Brahmā*, on *varṇa-dhyāna* *Brahmā*, on *gāyatrī-kavaca* *Vyāsa* and on the *mudrā*s *Brahmā* and the *Mahā-saṁhitā*.

Devanabhaṭṭa recognises the utility of the use of *akṣamālā*, which should be made of pearls, *rudrākṣas*, *indrākṣas*, etc. He describes the method of counting the number of mutterings and the effects of using the different kinds of *akṣamālā* by quotations from the *Yoga-Yājñavalkya*, *Purāṇa*, *Hārīta*, *Vyāsa*, *Smṛtyantara*, *Brahmā* and the *Skanda-Purāṇa*.³ He allows the painting, after bath, not

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 381-391.

² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 381.

³ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 401-404.

only of the ūrdhva-puṇḍra but also other sect-marks resembling the wick of a lamp (vartī), a lamp (dīpa), the leaf of the bamboo (veṇu-patra), the lotus-bud (padma-mukula), the lily (kumuda), a fish, a tortoise (kūrma), etc. For the method of painting these sect-marks he draws upon the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* and Vyāsa.¹

Though Devanabhaṭṭa does not recognise the Tāntrikī [saṁdhyā he prescribes, by quoting Pulastya, the muttering of the names of the sectarian deities on special occasions, viz. the name of Dāmodara when one has lost one's liberty (bandha-gata), Trivikrama when one is willing to conquer the enemies, and so on.²

We have said above that Devanabhaṭṭa has great regard for the Purāṇic gods and their worship. Consequently, he cannot but say something about the worship of these deities. According to him the medium of worship is either an altar, an image, the water, the fire or the heart. The method of worshipping Viṣṇu is almost the same as that given by Aparārka, the only innovation made by Devanabhaṭṭa being that Govinda, Mahādhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Trivikrama, Viṣṇu and Mādhava are to be placed (nyāsa) on the fingers beginning with the thumb and on the palm respectively. For this nyāsa, the *Yoga-Yājñavalkya* is drawn upon.³

We have seen above that Devanabhaṭṭa generally quotes the smṛti-works and the Purāṇas in matters, Tantric or otherwise and that in only one case he quotes a *Mahāsaṁhitā*. The name *Mahāsaṁhitā* and the occasion on which it is quoted, seem to suggest that it is a Saṁhitā of the Pāñcarātra sect. But, as no Saṁhitā of this name occurs in the lists given in the Saṁhitās of the Pāñcarātras (cf. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Saṁhitā*), we can not stress this supposition.

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 302-303,

² Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 502-4.

³ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 531,

THE DATE OF THE KUNDAMĀLĀ

BY

PRIN. A. C. WOOLNER, M. A.

The prologue in the Mysore Mss. states that the Kundamālā was composed by Diñnāga of Arārālapura, while the copyist of the Tanjore Mss.¹ records at the end of the play that it was composed by Dhīranāga of Anūpurādha.

(Edition in the Daksīṇa-bhāratī-grantha-mālā series No. 2, Introd. p. iii).

The first editors also state that in a manuscript copy of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī a number of verses of various poets are quoted at the beginning, which are not found in the printed edition; among these comes the second verse of the Kundamālā ascribed to Diñnāga.

Quotations from this play are found in the

Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha, (XIV cent.)

Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa of Bhojadeva (Bhojarāja) (c. 1050 A. D.)

Mahānāṭaka (older than 1150 A. D.)

The first editors felt no doubt that the author was Diñnāga. Moreover they proposed to identify the author with the Buddhist philosopher, Diñnāga who is said to have flourished about the first quarter of the fifth century A. D. and also with the poet Diñnāga who is mentioned by Mallinātha (XIV cent.) and also by Daksīṇāvartanātha (c. 1100 A. D.) in their comments on verse 14 of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta.

The makers of a translation² published in Lahore accept the conclusion that the author's name was Diñnāga, but urge with good reason that he was no Buddhist and distinguish Diñnāga the poet from Diñnāga the Buddhist Philosopher. They then accept the commentator's interpretation of Meghadūta 14 and making Diñnāga the Poet like his namesake a contemporary of Kālidāsa, assign the Kundamālā to the fifth century A. D.

1. Tanjore Mss. Nos. 4342-3. One is in Grantha and the other in Telugu script.

Veda Vyāsa and Saran Das Bhanot.

The reasons given for preferring the name *Diñnāga* to *Dhīra-nāga* are (i) that it is more familiar, which as an argument is double-edged (ii) that it occurs in the Mysore text, while the other is added by a Tanjore copyist (iii) that it occurs in one Ms. of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*.

If the author's name should turn out to be *Dhīranāga* all these arguments for putting the *Kundamālā* in the fifth century would disappear.

Let us suppose however that the Mysore Mss. are correct in recording the author's name as *Diñnāga*, and that this is the poet to whom *Mallinātha* and *Dakṣiṇāvarta* refer and whom they believed to be contemporary with *Kālidāsa*. This would be definite evidence that *Diñnāga* the Poet was older than about 1100 A. D. To make him as old as *Kālidāsa* we must suppose either that the interpretation of *Meghadūta* 14 is correct, or that there was an independent literary tradition worthy of credence. Now as the late Dr. E. Hultzsch pointed out (*Edition Meghadūta* 1911, Preface p. XI.) the earliest commentator *Vallabhadeva* (X. cent. A. D.) does not find in the word *Diñnāgānām* an allusion to a writer named *Diñnāga*. Many scholars have felt that the interpretation made so familiar by *Mallinātha* was forced and unnecessary. We may well be sceptical as to the existence of a valid literary tradition relating to the times of *Kālidāsa*. All we can say is that about 1100 A. D. *Diñnāga* was old enough to be assigned to *Kālidāsa*'s day by literary pundits.

The only other argument that has been adduced in favour of a date contemporary with or earlier than *Kālidāsa* is based upon the character of the Prakrit in the *Kundamālā* (*Dakṣiṇabhārati* edition, Introd. p. iii). No details are quoted in support of the opinion that the Prakrit of the play "reveals the literary development of Prakrit of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. " Several Prakrit passages are certainly obscure, but their difficulty is due rather to imperfect manuscripts than to any archaic features.

That the style is simple and avoids elaborate compounds is no proof of great antiquity. So far it has not been possible to establish a history of Sanskrit style and vocabulary that makes it possible to date a given work within a century or so by its technique. Certain literary types appear later than others,

but within a particular type conservation and imitation maintain a uniformity of style, that is disturbed more by an individual genius than by any changing fashions of succeeding centuries.

There remains however the subject matter, which may show changes in point of view and method of treatment if the same matter is dealt with through a number of centuries. Now the subject matter of the *Kundamālā*—the latter part of the story of Rāma and Sitā, has been dealt with frequently since the time when the VII book *Uttarakāṇḍa*, was added to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in the introduction to his English translation of Bhavabhūti's *Uttara Rāma-carita* has given an excellent epitome of the history of the Rāma story.¹ After mentioning some of the later modifications he has indicated some of the tendencies that are discernible in these i. e. Exaggeration, Deification, Idealisation, Curse motif, Philosophising, Invention and poetic embellishment.

Now if we read the *Kundamālā* from this point of view can it be doubted that the process of smoothing away anything that might seem to jar in the representation of Rāma and Sitā as ideals of moral perfection has gone farther than it had in Bhavabhūti's play? The *Kundamālā* may be simple in style but it is not by any means simple or unsophisticated in its treatment of the story. Is it not definitely later in development than Bhavabhūti? There is no space here to pursue this theme in detail,² but one feature may be noted. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Uttarakāṇḍa* Section 97) when Sitā affirms her chastity before the assembly, a divine throne comes up from the earth. The goddess Earth places Sitā on the throne which sinks into the ground and Sitā disappears. Then it is that Rāma's grief really begins. It is after that we hear he took no other spouse and used a golden image of Sitā in his sacrifices. This return of Sitā to the Earth was a feature of the ancient Sitā legend.

Now in Bhavabhūti's play there are two references to this idea of Sitā's return to the earth. These occur in the play within the play of the VII Act. The Earth goddess blames Rāma for his conduct, the Ganges tries to defend him, Sitā then (VII. 72) requests her

1 Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 21, pp. XLVII.

mother the Earth to receive her into her womb, but the Earth goddess reminds Sītā of her duty to her sons. Again when the Ganges proposed to put the two boys in Vālmiki's charge Sītā (VII. 153) asks the Earth goddess to receive her into her womb, but is asked to wait till the boys are weaned.

" *Pr̥thivī* -- Child, follow my behest and look to the needs of thy sons until they are weaned. But after that --as shall seem good." ¹

In the end Rāma takes back his wife and nothing is said of her return to the Earth.

In the Kundamālā (Act. VI. 24. ff) when Sītā makes her declaration in the midst of the people the Earth appears on the scene. All fold their hands and recite three verses of salutation. The Earth speaks to her daughter, who requests the goddess to vindicate her spotless character. The goddess does so. Drums sound and flowers fall in a shower from the sky. Rāma acknowledges Sītā's purity by bidding Lakṣmaṇa to salute her feet. Then urged again by Vālmiki he takes her hand. The Earth blesses the reunited pair and disappears. There is no word at all of Sītā's return to the Earth.

If the Kundamālā is later than Bhavabhūti (end of 7th. cent. A. D.) we have the following result.

(a) if the author is Dinnāga the Poet, the date lies between the 7th. century and the 11th century sufficiently early for it to be possible to imagine that this Dinnāga was contemporary with Kālidāsa.

(b) if the author be somebody else the play lies between the 7th. century and Bhojadeva (Bhojarāja c. 1050 A. D.) who quotes it.

There is no cogent evidence for placing this play in the 5th. century A. D.

¹ Dr. Belvalkar's Translation.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XXII

A MANUSCRIPT OF *BHARATA-ŚĀSTRA-GRANTHA* AND
IDENTIFICATION OF ITS AUTHOR *LAKṢMĪDHARA*
AND HIS DATE — 3rd quarter of the 16th century

Aufrecht mentions two Mss. of *Bharataśāstra* (music) by Raghunātha viz (i) Burnell 60 b and (ii) Oppert II, 4099. The subject of No. 4099 of Oppert's Catalogue is *Nāṭya*. The Tanjore Ms. described by Burnell is fragmentary. There is, however, no Ms. in Aufrecht's Catalogue with the title "*Bharataśāstragrantha*."

The B. O. R. I. Ms.¹ No. 40 of 1916-18 is called "*Bharataśāstragrantha*." It is a modern copy of a South Indian Ms. made in 1916 and consists of 30 folios. The following works and authors have been referred to in the body of the work :—

अमर, शब्दार्णव, कविकण्ठपाकः(श?), नानार्थदीपिका, भागवत (folio 1), काव्य-प्रकाश (fol. 2 and 4), हरिभक्तिस्तोदय (fol. 3), सङ्गीतचूडामणि (fol. 3 and 10), भगवद्गीता (fol. 4), प्रसन्नराघवव्याख्या (by the author himself- 'अस्मत्कृत') (fol. 6), सङ्गीतरत्नाकर (fol. 6 and 18), रागदीपिका, रत्नमाला (fol. 8), रसकरि(लि)का, भावप्रकाश (fol. 13), ऋतुसौख्यविवेक (fol. 14), भरत (fol. 17, 18, 24), सामुद्रिकं, रङ्गलक्ष्मीविलास (fol. 18), भरतार्णव (fol. 21).

It would appear from the foregoing references that the work is a late compilation. The Ms. from which the present copy is made was incomplete and hence there is no proper colophon from which the name of the author and other historical details could be gathered, in case they were recorded in the original work.

¹ Mr. Manomohan Ghosh in his edition of *Nandikeśvara's Abhinaya-darpaṇa* (Calcutta Ori. Series No. V, 1934), Introduction p. XX remarks about the quotations from earlier authors in this work :—

" It contains passages from unmentioned sources which include *Daṇḍin* and *Nandikeśvara*."

We must, however, thank Mr. Raghavam of Madras for furnishing us with evidence for discovering the author of this *Bharataśāstragrantha*. He paid a visit to the Bhandarkar Institute some time ago and went through the above copy of the *Bharataśāstragrantha*. Subsequently he returned to his native place Tanjore and while reading a commentary on the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva, called *Śrutirāñjinī* by one Lakṣmīdhara (P. P. S. Sastry's Descriptive Catalogue of Tanjore Mss., Vol. 16, Nos. 10935-6) he discovered that the author of our *Bharataśāstragrantha* is none other than this Lakṣmīdhara. The evidence for this identification according to Mr. Raghavam is the following :—

(1) In the *Bharataśāstragrantha* the author refers to a commentary of his on the Prasannarāghava (vide 'अस्मत्कृतप्रसन्नराघवव्याख्या' on folio 6 in the list of references given above.).

(2) The Tanjore Ms. of the *Śrutirāñjinī* on the Gītagovinda also refers to the author's own commentary on the Prasannarāghava.

(3) The B. O. R. I. Ms. of the *Bharataśāstragrantha* refers to the following works among others :—

संगीतचूडामणि, रङ्गलक्ष्मीविलस and कर्तुर्लक्ष्मीविलस,

These three works have exactly been quoted in the *Śrutirāñjinī* of Lakṣmīdhara.

I believe that the above evidence furnished by Mr. Raghavam is quite convincing and establishes the fact that Lakṣmīdhara was the author of the *Bharataśāstragrantha*.

We know from history that this Lakṣmīdhara was patronized by King Tirumala of the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar who had a very short reign and who passed away in A. D. 1572.¹ Tirumala was a lover of learning and the commentary *Śrutirāñjinī* though supposed to be written by Tirumala was

1. Heras: *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, 1927, p. 260.

14 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

evidently written by Lakṣmīdhara whom he patronized.¹ We can therefore infer that the Bharataśāstra of Lakṣmīdhara may have been composed say between A. D. 1550-1572 or in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

XXIII

REFERENCE TO *DURGHATAVṚTTI* IN CĀRITRA- VARDHANA'S COMMENTARY ON THE *RAGHUVAMŚA*

In my note in the issue of the Annals (Vol. XV, i, ii,) on the Date of Cāritravardhana, I fixed A. D. 1172 as one terminus to the date of this commentator because it is the date of the composition of the work Durghataṽṛtti of Śaraṇadeva, a quotation from which was found in Cāritravardhana's commentary on the Kumārasambhava. Though this quotation was identified in the Trivandrum edition of the Durghataṽṛtti I was in search of some more references to Durghataṽṛtti in the commentaries of Cāritravardhana.

Mr. S. P. Pandit's list of earlier works mentioned by Cāritravardhana in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* does not include any reference to the Durghataṽṛtti. My own reading of a Ms. of Cāritravardhana's commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* (No. 48 of 1873-74 of the Govt. Ms. Library at the B. O. R. Institute) has given me the following reference :—

folio 20—"समुच्चयार्थत्वादनधिकरणेऽपि प्रत्यय इति दुर्घटवृत्तिकारः "

This shows that Mr. Pandit's list is based on a printed edition which may not contain this reference or more probably this refer-

1. Heras; *Aravindu Dynasty* p. 516-17 —

"Tirumala has been supposed to be the author of the commentary entitled *Śrutirāṅginī* on the *Gīta-Govinda*; but one of the copies possessed by the Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, professes to have been composed by Lakṣmaṇasūri, a worshipper of Dakṣiṇāmūrti and a younger brother of Kondubhatta of Cherukurn. Dr. Hultzsch seems to believe that this was the actual author of the commentary, and Tirumala his patron. Lakṣmaṇasūri, called also Rāmānandāśrama and Laṣmīdhara, was a Saṁnyāsī pupil of Kṛṣṇāśrama whose family came from Cherukuru on the Kṛṣṇā river. He is the author of *Anargharāghava* and the Prākṛit grammar *Saḍ-bhāṣācandrikā*, based on the grammars of Trivikrama, Hemacandra and Bhamaja. "

ence may have escaped his notice. Whatever be the reasons of this omission the above reference to *Durgḥatavṛttikāra* corroborates the previous reference to this author on which I have relied in my note referred to above.

XXIV

DATE OF *SAMVATSARADIPHALA-KALPALATĀ*
OF *SOMADAIVAJŪNA*—A. D. 1642

Somadaivjūna, also called Somabhaṭṭa and Somaganaka, is mentioned by Aufrecht as the author of the following works¹ on astrology :— (1) *Kalpalatā* (2) *Kalpavalli* (3) *Paddhatibhūṣaṇa* (4) *Bṛhatkalpalatā* (5) *Samvatsara Kalpalatā*.

The date of the *Paddhatibhūṣaṇa* is given in the work itself. It is Śaka 1559 (= A. D. 1637) Somadaivajūna was the son of Rudrabhaṭṭa and the nephew of Bālabhaṭṭa as he informs us in the *Paddhatibhūṣaṇa*. He was the resident of Jalagrāma (Jalgaon). He composed this work for his pupil, a Gujarāṭi, Vasudeva by name.²

Of *Samvatsara-kalpalatā* Aufrecht records the following Mss:—

(1) "K 244"—This Ms. is not described and details re. date are not given in Kielhorn's list.

(2) "BhK 37"—This is No. 450 of A 1881-82 of the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute.

The B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 450 of A 1881-82 is dated Śaka 1699 (= A. D. 1777). No date of composition is recorded in this copy.

Recently, however, the B. O. R. Institute has acquired a copy³ of this work. It is a complete copy of 13 folios. At the end of this copy the following verse occurs :—

“वेदरसेन्द्रियभूमितशाके कार्तिकसंज्ञकमासासितिवैर्द्धे ॥

आद्यतिथौ भृगुजोविलिखि ये कल्पलता परिपुर्तिमुपेते ॥ १ ॥”

¹. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 734.

². Velankar : *B. B. R. A. S. Catalogue* Vol. I, pp. 120-1.

³. This is one of the bundle of manuscripts on astrology so kindly presented by Pandit Sukla of Berar through Raosaheb G. K. Deshapande of Poona.

The chronogram "वेदरसहस्रियम्" in the above verse gives us Śaka 1564 (= A. D. 1642) as the date of composition of the work. This means that the author Soma wrote this work about 5 years after his Paddhatibhūṣana.

XXV

A MANUSCRIPT OF *TITHIRATNA* BY SOMADAIVAJŪNA

In my note on the date of *Saṁvatsarādi-Kalpalatā* of Somadaivajūna I have given a list of works ascribed to this author in Aufrecht's Catalogue. This list does not include the work तिथिरत्नम् a manuscript of which has been presented to the Institute by Pandit Śukla of Berar. This Ms. consists of 3 folios. The following verse at the commencement of the Ms. gives us some information about the author :—

“ बालंभट्टपितृव्यपादभजनाद्भवत्पुत्रं गतः ।

काकंभट्टतनुजंरुद्रविश्वाम्जातः कवाम्बोदरे ॥

ज्योतिःशास्त्रविदा स्वशिष्यहरिणा संप्रार्थितः सादरं ।

वेदज्ञरत्तिथिरत्नम्(मा?)ह्य तनुते सोमामिधानः सुधीः ॥ १ ॥

The above verse gives us more information about the family of the author. His uncle was *Bālaṁbhaṭṭa*, his father *Rudra*, his grandfather *Kākambhaṭṭa* and his mother *Kavāmbū* and the work *Tithiratna* was written at the instance of his pupil *Hari*. The author learnt the science of astrology from his uncle *Bālaṁbhaṭṭa*.

This Ms. of *Saṁvatsarādi-Kalpalatā* (vide note above) contains the following verses in which the author apparently refers to the present work तिथिरत्नः —

“ इतिस्मिन् दृष्टान्तिना नशके पूर्णांगबाणेंद्रुभि १५६० यांताब्दात्तिथिरत्नजां-
निर्गमितोस्तेनेत्रचंद्रैरुताः ॥ ” etc.

XXVI

A COMMENTARY ON THE *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA* BY *JINASAMUDRASŪRI* AND ITS PROBABLE DATE—

Last Quarter of the 15th Century

The only Ms. of a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* by *Jinasamudrasūri* recorded by Aufrecht¹ is—“ Rgb 337 ”, which

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, II. 22.

is the same as No. 337 of 1884-87 in the Govt. Ms Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The colophon of this Ms. gives us some particulars about *Jinasamudrasūri*. It runs thus—

“इति श्रीखरतरगच्छे । श्रीजिनप्रभसूरि अनुक्रमेण भट्टारकश्रीजिनचन्द्रसूरिपट्ट-
मंडनभट्टारकश्रीजिनसरद्रसूरिभिः श्रीकुमारसंभवस्य काव्यस्य बाला(व)बोधनार्थं टीका
विहिता ।”

No other details about the author are furnished by the Ms.

The *Jaina Granthāvalī*¹ mentions one Jina-Samudra as the author of a commentary on the Śātakas of Bhartṛhari. I am unable to verify if he is the same as the author of the present commentary.

In the Catalogue² of Jesalmere Bhandar Mss. however the following remarks about a *Jinasamudrasūri* will show that he is most probably identical with the author of the Kumārasambhava commentary:—

“सं. १५३६ वर्षे जेसलमेरुदुर्गे देवकर्णराज्येऽष्टापदप्रासादप्रतिष्ठाकारको जिन-
चन्द्रसूरेः शिष्यः जिनसरद्रसूरिजिनभद्रसूरेः प्रशिष्य आसीत्”

It is clear from the above lines that *Jinasamudrasūri* lived in the reign of Devakarna of Jesalmir.

Dr. Bhandarkar remarks in his Report³ about the Raos of Jesalmir as under:—

“A Kharatarapatṭāvali from Udyotana to Jinabhadra was inscribed in the temple at Jesalmeru. It is dated Samvat 1505 during the reign of Chāchikadeva. Chāchikadeva is mentioned by Prinsep in his list of the Raos of Jesalmir. He belonged to the dynasty of the Bhattis, a branch of the Yadu race of Chandravamśa.”

Further details about *Chāchikadeva*, *Devakarna* and other Raos of Jesalmir will be found in the following extract⁴ from a *prasasti* inscribed in the Jesalameru temple referred to above:—

1. Jain Granthāvali, 1909, p. 209.

“भर्तृहरिशतकत्रय-वृत्ति(बीजी)” — श्लोक ५०० by जिनसमुद्र.

2. A Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmir, Sanskrit Prasthāvanā, p. 12. (G. O. S. Vol. XXI).

3. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss., 1883-84 p. 152.

4. Jesalamere Bhandara Mss. Catalogue, (G. O. S. Vol. XXI,) Parisiṣṭa, p. 76.

“ संवत् १५८३ वर्षे मागसिरसिदि ११ दिने श्रीजैसलमेरुमहादुर्गे राउल श्रीचाचि-
गदेवपट्टे राउल श्रीदेवकर्णपट्टे महाराजाधिराज राउल श्री जयतसिंहविजयिराज्ये
कुमारश्रीलूणकर्णयुवराज्ये etc. ”

The two foregoing extracts from the Jesalmere Catalogue give us the following chronological particulars about the Raos of Jesalmir bearing on the date of Jinasamudrasūri :—

Rao of Jesalmir	Samvat	A. D.	Remarks
चाचिगदेव	1505	1449	{ Contemporary of जिनसमुद्रसूरी
देवकर्ण	1536	1480	
जयंतसिंह was reigning and लूणकर्ण was yuvarāja	1583	1527	

Prinsep¹ in his list of the Raos of Jesalmir tells us that *Chachikadeo* fixed capital at Marote before A. D. 1473 when the conquest of Multan by Babar took place and that Jesalmir became a fief of the Mogul Empire under Rawuls *Jait*, *Nunkarn* etc. It appears that *Jait* and *Nunkarn* mentioned by Prinsep are respectively *Jayatsinha* and *Lūṇakarna* mentioned in the above table.

In view of the foregoing facts we shall be justified in fixing the last quarter of the 15th century as the time when Jinasamudra's commentary on the Kumārasambhava was written.

XXVII

DATE OF HARIDĀSAMISRA, AUTHOR OF COMMENTARIES ON THE *RAGHUVAMŚA* AND THE *KUMĀRA-SAMBHAVA*—middle of the 15th century

In my note No XIII in the Annals Vol XIII, p. 344, I described a Ms. of a commentary called *Prakāśikā* on the *Raghuvamśa* (7 cantos) No. 471 of 1895-1902 and showed that it was composed after A. D. 1374 or provisionally towards the middle of the 15th century. I could not then say anything about the author of the commentary as his name was nowhere to be found in the

¹ *Essays on Indian Antiquities* ed. Edward Thomas, 1858, Vol. II, p. 261.

extant fragment of the commentary. Since my note appeared I have examined another Ms. viz. No. 760 of 1886-92 which is a commentary for canto I only of the Raghuvamśa and called *Dīpikā*¹ or *Prakāśikā*² composed by one Haridāsaṁśra, son of Viṣṇudāsa.

I have compared the text of No. 471 with that of No. 760 so far as canto I is concerned and find that these portions are identical though verse 2 about the author is wanting in No. 471. This identity proves that the *Prakāśikā*, the date of which we have provisionally fixed as *the middle of the 15th century* and of which only seven cantos are available at present was composed by Haridāsa, son of Viṣṇudāsa.

Further biographical details about Haridāsa and his family are furnished by another Ms. No. 476 of 1891-95 of the Govt. Mss. Library. This is a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* called *Kumārakāvyaṁvārtha-Dīpikā*. The introductory verse³ is common to all the three Mss. referred to above. Seven more verses follow, in which the ancestry of Haridāsa is recorded. The family belonged to "लालमयूर." The great grandfather of हरिदास the commentator was "ज्येष्ठ," "सकुमिभ्र" the grandfather, "विष्णुदास," his father and "सूलेदेवी" his mother.

The works and authors mentioned in this commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* are :— अमर, यादव, महार्णव, अभिनवगुप्त, केशव, ब्रह्मांड पुराण, विष्णुपुराण, दंडी, काशिका, विश्व, वामन, वैजयंती, हलायुध, वृत्तिकार, शब्दार्णव, शाश्वत, योगसार, दशरूपक, काव्यादर्श etc. All these references being earlier than the reference to अनेकार्थतिलक noted in our Note No. XIII are of no use for locating the exact date of the author.

1. Verse 2 in the beginning —

“विष्णुदासतनुजेन हरिदासेन धमिता ।

विरच्यते यथानुद्धिः रघुकाव्यार्थदीपिका ॥ २ ॥”

2. The Ms. ends —

“इति श्रीमन्महोदयान्तःकरणमिश्रविष्णुदासात्मजहरिदासमिश्रकृतायां
रघुकाव्यार्थप्रकाशिकायां दिलीपव्रतोपदेशो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥”

3. This verse runs—

“वेदे मदनगोपालं नत्वा तत्त्वार्थदायकं

सर्वं विघ्नापहर्तारं दानारं सर्वसंपदां ॥ १ ॥”

in the *Raghuvamśa-ṭīkā* Mss. No. 471 (f 1895-1902 and No. 760 of 1896-92 while in the *Kumārasambhava-ṭīkā* Ms. (No. 476 of 1891-95) instead of 'नत्वा तत्त्वार्थदायकं' in the above verse we have 'विद्यातत्त्वार्थदायकं.'

ABHINAVAGUPTA AND BHĀGAVATA

In the last issue (Vol. XIV, Part III-IV) of the Annals, Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, on the Annamalai University, has written an article of the date of Bhāgavata Purāṇa. I am not concerned with his peculiar way—may I say, dash!—of putting old scholars in the wrong. I may only say that this could have been as well done in milder words. What I wish to point out here is about Abhinavagupta, the great Kāśmīrī author of the 10th century.

The writer of the article under reference has taken a quotation from Bhāgavata, occurring in Abhinavagupta's Gītārthasaṃgraha, a commentary on the Bhagavadgītā. Nothing else would have been to the point; but unfortunately, the position of the passage itself is little doubtful. I had occasion to consult some Mss. of this commentary in connection with my own edition of the Gītā; and the following is the outcome of my examination :

The Government Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute, has in its collection, two Mss. of this commentary; of these one is in Nāgarī, I may call it Kāśmīrī Nāgarī, from the peculiar mode of writing short bold letters, found in many other Kāśmīrī Nāgarī Mss. This Ms. does contain the passage from the Bhāgavata, as printed in the Gītā edition of the Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay. But the other Ms. in Śāradā characters, and apparently of an older date, does *not* contain the passage under reference in the running text of the commentary, but the passage is found written in the margin. This, as I have said above, makes the position of the passage doubtful. It is needless to say, that as the passage is missing in the old Ms. the natural conclusion would be that some body at a late date, thought of the passage as applicable to that particular stanza and inserted the same in the margin, and later copyists incorporated this marginal passage into their text.

This alone, of course, does not go against the whole tenor of the article, and Bhāgavata would still be dated as back as the writer wants.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

SĀRA AND VARĀHAMIHIRA

Rudraṭa appears to be the first writer on Rhetorics to mention and define Sāra. His illustration of this alamkāra is as follows :—

राज्ये सारं वसुधा वसुन्धरायां पुरं पुरे सौधम् ।
सौधे तल्पं तल्पे वराङ्गनानङ्गसर्वस्वम् ॥

This very illustration was given later on by Mammata. How did the alamkāra come to be named Sāra? This word certainly occurs in the illustration given by Rudraṭa. I have come across a verse of greater antiquity which probably was the original of the verse cited by Rudraṭa. The significant fact is it ends with the word Sāra. The verse occurs in the Bṛhat Samhitā of Varāhamihira and is as follows :—

“ जये धरिद्र्याः पुरमेव सारं
पुरे गृहं सद्गानि चैकदेशः ।
तत्रापि शय्या शयने वरा स्त्री
रत्नोज्ज्वला राज्यसुखस्य सारः ” ॥

वृ. सं. ७३/१

Madhav T. Patvardhan

EDITORIAL NOTES

Presentation of the first volume of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A., Ruler of Aundh, 6th July 1934.

In the presence of a distinguished gathering of the scholars connected with the Bhandarkar Institute and the elite of the City, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A., the Ruler of Aundh, was publicly honoured by the presentation of the First Volume of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, the work on which has been going on at the Institute for the last 16 years. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, B. A., LL. B., the Chairman of the Regulating Council of the Institute presided and presented the Volume of the Ādiparvan on behalf of the Bhandarkar Institute to Shrimant Pant Saheb in grateful appreciation of his services to the Institute as the originator and the supporter of the Mahābhārata Scheme. The presentation ceremony was preceded by an interesting lecture by Dr. D. G. Londhe, M. A., Ph. D., on the "Metaphysics of the Mahābhārata" in which he briefly dwelt on the philosophical aspects of the Great Epic. At the conclusion of the lecture Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Secretary of the Institute and the General Editor of the Mahābhārata, read a statement on the origin and development of the scheme for the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and the role played by the Ruler of Aundh in supporting this scheme by a princely donation of one lakh of Rupees out of which more than Rs. 60,000 have been already realised by the Institute. After the presentation of the Volume the Ruler of Aundh made a brief reply thanking the authorities of the Institute for the honour done to him and in particular for organizing and executing his scheme for the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata in such an efficient manner under the able guidance of the learned and experienced General Editor Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, fully conversant with the Western method of textual research. The Chairman in conclusion thanked the Ruler of Aundh for his having agreed to the Institute's request to receive

the First Volume of the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata* projected in 12 volumes of about 10,000 pp. as it was an earnest of the Institute's keen desire to complete the whole scheme estimated to cost about 6 lakhs of Rupees out of which about 2 lakhs only have been realized by the Institute up-to-now and which, therefore, stands in greater need of financial support from the cultured and the wealthy public in India and outside. After the guests were garlanded the meeting terminated amidst cheers.

Statement read by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D., Secretary of the Institute and General Editor of the Mahābhārata.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On the occasion of today's most pleasant and memorable function arranged on behalf of this Institute for the presentation of the first Volume of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A., the Ruler of Aundh in grateful appreciation of his initiation and princely help towards the execution of the scheme for the Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata, I feel it to be my sacred duty to trace in brief the origin and development of this national scheme which stands unparalleled in the history of modern critical scholarship, initiated and executed by Indian scholars.

The idea of a Critical Edition of the Great Epic is as old as 1904 when the work of an International Edition of the Mahābhārata planned on behalf of the Association of Academies in Europe was commenced and continued in a somewhat lukewarm manner till it was finally abandoned in 1914 when the Great European war commenced and shook the entire foundation of western culture and civilization thus unhinging the minds of the western Savants for any serious resumption of the scheme.

The Chief credit of initiating the Institute's Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata goes to the Ruler of Aundh for honouring whom we have all assembled today in this Hall of learning. It was at the opening of this very Tata Hall in 1918 that the

then authorities of the Institute, some of whom are unfortunately no more in our midst but whose memory and work are still green in our minds, accepted on behalf of the Institute the munificent gift of a lakh of rupees from the Ruler of the Aundh who then presided over a meeting of the General Body of the Institute and urged upon the audience the need of undertaking and preparing a Critical Edition of the Great Epic. It was also here that the late lamented Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar inaugurated in April 1919 the monumental work of this Epic Edition by writing in his own hand the opening benediction of Mahābhārata.

The progress since made is a matter of public knowledge. The late Mr. N. B. Utgiṅkar was in special charge of the Mahābhārata work and was Editor from 1918 to 1923. He prepared and published the Prospectus to this Critical Edition in 1919 and brought out the tentative Edition of the Virāṭaparvan in 1923, when he resigned and was transferred to British service. His love of the Mahābhārata studies was mainly responsible for much of the useful work done in the early stages of the work. The preliminaries for the final Critical Edition being now somewhat settled the Institute appointed Dr. V. S. Sukthankar as General Editor of the Mahābhārata in August 1925 i. e. about 9 years ago. The first fascicule of the Ādiparvan was published two years later i. e. in 1927 and the last viz. 7th fascicule, containing many Appendices and the Prolegomena appeared in December 1933. Hitherto the General Editor has been able to bring out only one fascicule of the work every year inspite of his working full time on this Edition. To those unacquainted with the difficult nature of the work the progress in this editorial work made by the Institute hitherto may appear analogous to that of a snail climbing the mighty slopes of the Himālayas but the lines on which the work has been organized and the blessings it has received from the world of scholars have engendered an indomitable courage in the minds of all scholars connected with the work and it is their firm conviction that their determined effort is bound to win in the end. Arrangements have accordingly been made to appoint two more Editors for editing two different parvans of the Mahābhārata under the supervision and control of the General Editor and with the appointment of other Parvan Editors in course

of time, they Institute is confident that they will be able to lessen materially the total period of time necessary for the completion of this gigantic enterprise.

Though the scheme has been initiated and executed by Indian scholars themselves under the auspices of this Institute no pains have been spared to give it a thoroughly international character. As a matter of fact a persistent effort has been made by the Institute since the commencement of the work to keep all Western Orientalists fully acquainted with all the details of the scheme and the strictly scientific manner in which the whole Critical apparatus was being studied and presented by the Editors on the lines of modern textual criticism, specially adapted to the requirements of this unique problem in textual research. The Western Scholars have also been not slow to respond to our efforts and appreciate what little has been achieved by the Institute towards the reconstruction of the mighty fabric of the Epic text. The International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1928 put their seal of approval on the Institute's Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* and resolved to co-operate with the Institute in its heroic efforts, towards the restoration of the epic text to its pristine purity, purged of all ugly accretions and resplendent with the glory of Aryan Culture and Civilization. In pursuance of the above resolution Prof. Luders handed over all collations in his possession previously made in connection with the project of the European Edition to Dr. Sukthankar, in 1932 when the latter was specially deputed by the Institute as its delegate to attend the International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden. Another act of active co-operation from the European quarters is the presentation to the Institute by the Strassburg University of the photo copies of Goldstücker's Collations of European Mss. of the *Mahābhārata*. As a natural sequence to these active steps of cordial co-operation from our European brethren the Institute strongly hopes that the Fund collected for the European Edition of the Great Epic and now in the custody of the Trustees may be made available for the Institute's work on the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

Besides the encouragement received by the Institute by active acts of co-operation from Indian and Foreign scholars

there has been almost a stream of appreciative criticism of the yearly Fascicules of the Mahābhārata in responsible Oriental Journals of status and standing published in India, Europe and America. The notices of these fascicules appearing in the popular press have also echoed in the same encouraging strain.

It is my duty now to turn to the other side of this Mahābhārata scheme which need not, however, stagger you. A scheme so well begun on its intellectual side is not even half done. The Institute has succeeded in bringing out a Critical Edition only of the first Parvan i. e. the Ādiparvan - a bulky volume of more than 1000 closely printed pages. It is now 16 years since the scheme was launched full sail and yet we are not even on the high seas. Our supporters in this work besides the honoured guest of this evening are no less than the Government of India, the Govt. of Bombay, the University of Bombay, the Govt. of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, the Govts. of H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda and H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, not to say of the Rulers of some of the Southern Maratha, Kathiawar and other Native States and last but not least the numerous donors and subscribers who supply the necessary stimulus to the organic growth of the whole enterprise. But even these resources now at the disposal of the Institute fall far short of the actual requirements of the scheme. Out of the total estimated cost of the scheme viz. rupees 6 *lakhs*, the Institute has realized upto now about 2 *lakhs*, out of which the Ruler of Aundh has contributed more than Rs. 60,000, a sum by no means small considering the slender resources of his State. The balance of the estimated cost viz. rupees 4 *lakhs* is yet to be realized by the Institute and the actual rate of the work of the Institute on this Critical Edition hereafter will be chiefly determined by the speed with which the balance of the estimated cost is made up by the principal supporters of the scheme, as also by the general public to whom I take this opportunity of appealing for financial help at this critical stage of the Mahābhārata work. Much of the preliminary laborious work such as collation &c. in connection with this Edition has been already done by the Institute and the editorial work, which is the mainstay of the whole scheme, is now in full swing, being accelerated by the appointment of two

more Parvan Editors as already stated. The Institute, having proved its credentials by actual work feels confident that its appeal for more financial help will meet with a generous response from the cultured public in India and outside.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have briefly summed up in the foregoing remarks the salient points about the Institute's work on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and I have to thank you most cordially for having listened to them patiently. The main purpose of to-day's function is, however, the presentation, on behalf of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, of the First Volume of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A. , the Ruler of Aundh, in recognition of his very valuable services to the Mahābhārata Studies and the important role played by him as the originator and supporter of the scheme as referred to by me previously. The volume that will be shortly presented to Shrimant Pant Saheb is the *First* of the 12 volumes projected by the Institute, estimated to cover up about 10,000 pp. I feel it a great privilege to thank Shrimant Pant Saheb for having acceded to our request to be present on this most auspicious occasion and receive the volume of the Ādiparvan which is a visible index of his love of the Mahābhārata, made still more visible by the numerous beautiful illustrations interspersed throughout the volume and which are the creations of Shrimant Pant Saheb himself. The volume is a unique combination of art and research, or if, you ilke, the *self* and the *not-self*, of the Mahābhārata. It is my earnest desire and hope that with the necessary financial help being assured the Institute will be able to bring out the remaining 11 volumes of the Mahābhārata in rapid succession in the years to come.

Reply by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B. A., Ruler of Aundh, on presentation to him of the First volume of the Critical Edition of Mahābhārata on 6th July 1934.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have indeed great pleasure in accepting today a copy of the First Volume of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata presented to me by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at the hands of the worthy chairman of today's function. I am very much thankful to the Bhandarkar Institute and all the members thereof for the great honour they have done to me in successfully arranging this function and appreciating my services to the cause of the Mahābhārata, which is a work of great international importance. I am very glad to hear the statement just read out by the Secretary of the Institute and to note the progress made by the Institute so far in connection with the Mahābhārata work. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the work of the Mahābhārata has been highly appreciated by renowned scholars all over the world.

It will not be out of place here to give a short account about the origin of the Mahābhārata Work. The scheme of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata took root in 1918. I had then published the Picture Rāmāyaṇa with 60 illustrations of various important incidents from the Rāmāyaṇa drawn by myself and had a mind to publish a similar volume of the Mahābhārata, the great epic of India. But a friend of mine suggested to me the idea of publishing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata and I readily approved of it. I had a long discussion in the matter with my revered Guru, the late Dr. Sir Ramkrishnapant Bhandarkar and he told me that the whole work of the the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata would cost about Rupees ten lac. I immediately promised to contribute Rupees one lac for this work, considering the extreme importance of the work.

The scheme of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata originated in June 1918 with a small informal meeting convened by me to discuss the utility of such an edition. A formal meeting was soon, thereafter called in Nana Wada on 23rd June 1918

under the presidency of the late Sir Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar to which were invited many of the learned men of Poona, when the whole scheme was discussed in all its details and finally approved with the benediction of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who also indicated the lines along which work should proceed.

It was decided that a prospectus should be issued indicating the importance and necessity of the work and the present position in Mahābhārata studies and similar other problems. A small Committee consisting of myself, Prin. V. K. Rajwade, Mm. Vasudeo Shastri Abhyankar, Rao Bahadoor C. V. Vaidya, Mr. M. H. Modak, Dr. Sardesai, Dr. Belvalkar the late Dr. Gune, the late Dr. Ghate and the late Mr. N. B. Utgikar was formed for the purpose of issuing the prospectus. Thereafter the Mahābhārata work actually began on 1st April 1919, on which day it was formally inaugurated under the auspices of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The work has since then been going on as stated by the Secretary in his report.

The present learned General Editor of the Mahābhārata, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, who is an experienced and enthusiastic worker took charge of the Mahābhārata Work in 1925 and since then the Mahābhārata Work is making satisfactory progress. Dr. Sukthankar has got 13 years experience in Europe of doing work of a critical nature and his services in the field of the Mahābhārata have been very important and useful as will be evinced from the reviews of high appreciation regarding the Mahābhārata Work by eminent scholars of the West. Dr. Sukthankar's name was first suggested to me by Barrister V. P. Vaidya of Bombay. The late Dr. Fr. R. Zimmermann, Professor, St. Xavier College, Bombay, also recommended the appointment of Dr. Sukthankar and the Regulating Council of the Bhandarkar Institute approved of our recommendation. Dr. Zimmermann was a strong supporter of the Mahābhārata Work and was highly interested in it. How I wish he should have lived today to witness today's function and see the appreciation of this gigantic work all over the world.

I must thank here most heartily the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and Indian States who have liberally contributed to the publication of the Mahābhārata Work

and without whose help the Mahābhārata work would not have made the present progress. I must specially mention here the name of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Lord Willingdon, Viceroy and Governor General of India, who has been an active sympathiser and supporter of the Mahābhārata work all along, since he was the Governor of Bombay.

The Mahābhārata work has been making slow but steady progress. I am fully aware that the work has not progressed as fast as we expected. But the difficulties in the way were many and taking into consideration the highly satisfactory nature of the work, the delay might be excused. I, however, strongly hope that the subsequent volumes of the Mahābhārata will come out much more quickly and the high standard of the work will be maintained by Dr. Sukthankar, to whom a large portion of the credit of the Mahābhārata work naturally goes.

Before concluding, I thank you all once more for your kindness and the honour done to me today. The honour done to me is really the honour done to the gigantic Mahābhārata work itself, for which I have been striving all along. I only hope that the Mahābhārata work will receive better support from Government, Indian States and the general public and the work will reach completion as early as possible.

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धर्म-संख्याख्यानमाला ।

चतुर्थं व्याख्यानः ।

तृतीये व्याख्याने धर्मशास्त्रीयावस्थात्रयेऽपि विद्यमानानां सर्वेषां ग्रन्थ-
कृतां ग्रन्थानां च धर्मसूत्रस्मृतिनिबन्धात्मकानां वर्णनं कृतम् । तत्र च
तत्तद्ग्रन्थकृतो देशसमयादि विविच्य तदन्तर्गतविषया निरूपिताः । धर्म-
सूत्रस्मृतीनां तथा मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोश्च सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये परीक्षिते । अधुना
प्रतिश्रुतानुसारं व्यवहारमयूखं पुरतः उपक्षिप्य तद्दर्शितेन यथा पूर्वं व्यव-
हारस्य लक्षणं तदनु, अष्टादशानां पदानां संक्षिप्तं वर्णनं ततश्च दास-
भागस्य विशेषतो विवरणं करोमि । तत्र व्यवहारो हि याज्ञवल्क्येन—

स्मृत्याचारव्यपेतेन मार्गेणाधर्षितः परैः ।

आवेदयति चेद्राज्ञे व्यवहारपदं हि तत् ॥

इति लक्षितः । मनुनाऽष्टादश पदानि वर्णितानि—

तंषामाद्यमृणादानं निक्षेपोऽस्वामिविक्रयः ।

संभूय च समुत्थानं वृत्तस्थानपकर्म च ॥

वेतनस्यैव चादानं संविदश्च ध्यतिक्रमः ।

क्रयविक्रयानुशयो विवादः स्वामिपालयोः ॥

सीमाविवादधर्मश्च पारुष्ये दण्डवाचिके ।

स्तेयं च साहसं चैव स्त्रीसंग्रहणमेव च ॥

स्त्रीपुंभर्तो विभागश्च द्यूतमाह्वय एव च ।

पदान्यष्टादशैतानि व्यवहारस्थिताविह ॥ इति ।

व्यवहारमातृकास्तु सभागृहस्य सभ्यादीनां लक्षणमासेन्दुर्दण्डादिकं च वर्णि-
तम् । साक्षिणां लक्षणपूर्वकं सत्यासत्यता दर्शिता । साक्ष्याद्यभावे दिव्यानि
तत्सर्वसाधारणो विधिः । घटाविधि - वह्निविधि - जलविधि - विषविधि -
कोशविधि - तण्डुलाविधि - तप्तमाषविधि - फालाविधि - धर्मजविधिरूपाणि
दिव्यानि कथितानि । अथ च शपथानां निर्णयः ।

१ ऋणादानस्य लक्षणं नारदेन कृतम्—

ऋणं देयमदेयं च येन यत्र यथा च यत् ।

दानग्रहणधर्माश्च तद्व्यादानमुच्यते ॥

२ निक्षेपः—स्वघनस्यान्यस्मिन्नर्पणम् ।

३ अस्वामि कृतो विक्रयः— अस्वामिविक्रयः ।

- ४ संभूय वणिगादीनां क्रियानुष्ठानम्—संभूयसमुत्थानम् ।
 ५ दत्तस्यानपाकर्म—दत्तस्य धनस्यापात्रबुद्ध्या क्रोधादिना वा ग्रहणम् ।
 ६ कर्मकरस्य भूतेरादानम्—वेतनस्यैव चादानम् ।
 ७ संविदो व्यतिक्रमः—कृतव्यवस्थाया अतिक्रमः ।
 ८ क्रयविक्रयानुशयः—क्रये विक्रये च कृते पश्चात्तापाद्विप्रतिपत्तिः ।
 ९ स्वामिर्पालविवादः—स्वामिपशुपालयोर्विवादः ।
 १० सीमाविवादः—ग्रामसीमादिविप्रतिपत्तिः ।
 ११ दण्डवाक्पारुष्ये—वाक्पारुष्यमाक्रोशनादि, दण्डपारुष्यं ताडनादि ।
 १२ स्तेयं—निह्वेन धनग्रहणम् ।
 १३ साहसम्—प्रसह्य धनाहरणादि ।
 १४ स्त्रीपुंभर्मः—स्त्रियाश्च परपुरुषसंपर्कः, स्त्रीसाहितस्य पुंसो धर्मो व्यवस्था ।
 १५ अभ्युपेत्याशुश्रूषा—प्रतिश्रुत्य सेवाया अभावः ।
 १६ विभागः—पैतृकादिधनस्य च विभागः ।
 १७ द्यूतम्—पण्यद्वन्द्वद्वयोधनम् ।
 १८ आह्वयः—प्राणिद्यूतम् ।

दायभागविषये पूर्वं सामान्यतो विविच्य विशेषवर्णनं क्रियते ।

व्यवहारे त्रयः प्रधानभूताः— १ विवाहः, २ दायहारिक्रमः, ३ दत्तकश्च । एते त्रयोऽपि धार्मिका इति वक्तुं शक्यम् । तत्र विवाहो विशेषतो धार्मिक एव । येन च दम्पत्योरैहिकपारलौकिकप्रवृत्तीनां धर्म्यत्वं तत्पुत्राणां च धर्म्यत्वम् । दत्तकपुत्रस्वीकारे हेतुद्वयम् । नामसंकीर्तनं पिण्डादिदानेन पारलौकिकहितं च । द्वितीयं केवलधार्मिकं प्रथममप्यंशतः । दायहारिक्रमो यद्यपि लौकिककार्योपयोगी तथापि तन्निदानभूतः सापिण्ड्यशब्दः सापिण्ड-शब्दव्युत्पत्तिद्वारा धर्म्य एव । विवाहो वङ्गमद्वाराश्रदाक्षिणात्येषु भिन्नः । तेन यस्मिन्देशे यथा रीत्या संपाद्यते तथा स संगृहीत एव । विवाहे संपन्ने तदीयं कार्यं सुव्यवस्थिततया संगृह्यते विधिभेदेऽपि न क्षतिः । मिताक्षराकृता दायो रक्तसंबन्धमनुसृत्य प्रतिपादितः । दायभागे तु स पिण्डदानद्वारा पिण्डग्रंथिद्वारा च । अनयोरुभयोरप्ययं क्रमः सापिण्डपदानुरोधादेव केवलम् । उभाभ्यां सापिण्डशब्दो द्विधा विव्रियते । तथाहि—

सापिण्डशब्दार्थः—असंपिण्डाम्—समानः एकः पिण्डो देहः यस्याः सा सपिण्डा..... । सपिण्डता च एकशरीरान्वयेन भवति । तथाहि, पुत्रस्य पितृशरीरावयवान्वयेन पित्रा सह सापिण्ड्यम् । एवं पितामहादिभिरपि पितृद्वारेण तच्छरीरावयवान्वयात् । एवं मातृशरीरावयवान्वयेन मात्रा । तथा मातामहादिभिरपि मातृद्वारेण । तथा मातृष्वसृमातुलादिभिरपि ।

एकशरीरावयवान्वयात् । तथा पितृव्यपितृष्वस्त्रादिभिरपि । तथा पत्या सह पत्न्या एकशरीरारम्भकतया । एवं भ्रातृभार्याणामपि परस्परमेकशरीरारब्धैः सहैकशरीरारम्भकत्वेन । एवं यत्र यत्र सपिण्डशब्दस्तत्र तत्र साक्षात् परंपरया वा एकशरीरावयवान्वयो वेदितव्यः । यद्येवं मातामहादीनामपि 'वशाहं शावमाशौचं सपिण्डेषु विधीयते' इत्यविशेषेण प्राप्नोति । स्यादेतत् । यदि तत्र प्रत्तानामितरे कुर्युरित्यादिविशेषवचनं न स्यात् । अवश्यं चैकशरीरावयवान्वयेन सापिण्ड्यं वर्णनीयम् । 'आत्मा हि जज्ञा आत्मनः, अङ्गावङ्गात्संभवसि' इत्यादिश्रुतेः । तथा 'प्रजामनु प्रजायस' इति च । 'स एवायं विरूढः प्रत्यक्षेणोपलभ्यते' इति आपस्तम्बवचनाच्च । तथा गर्भोपनिषदि एतत् षाट्कौशिकं शरीरं त्रीणि मातृतः त्रीणि पितृतः । अस्थिस्रायु-मज्जानः पितृतः त्वङ्मांसरुधिराणि मातृतः । इति तत्र तत्रावयवान्वयप्रतिपादनात् । निर्वाप्यसपिण्डान्वयेन तु सापिण्ड्ये मातृसंताने भ्रातृपुत्रादिषु च सापिण्ड्यं न स्यात् समुदायशक्त्यङ्गीकारेण रूढिपरिग्रहे अवयवशक्तिस्तत्र तत्रावगम्यमाना परित्यक्ता स्यात् । परंपरयैकशरीरावयवान्वयेन सापिण्ड्ये यथा नातिप्रसङ्गस्तथापि तत्र मिताक्षरायामुक्तम् । व्यवहाराध्याये च ११७ श्लोके 'मातृदुहितरः शेषमृणात' इत्यत्र 'युक्तं चैतत् । पुमान् पुंसोऽधिके शुक्रे स्त्री भवत्याधिके स्त्रियाः ।' इति स्त्र्यवयवानां दुहितृषु बाहुल्यात् स्त्रीधनं दुहितृगामि । पितृधनं पुत्रगामि पित्रवयवानां पुत्रेषु बाहुल्यादिति । तत्र च गौतमेन विशेषो दर्शितः । 'स्त्रीधनं दुहितृणामप्रत्तानामप्रतिष्ठितानां च' इति । अस्यार्थः—प्रत्ताप्रत्तासमवायेऽप्रत्तानामेव स्त्रीधनम् । प्रत्तास्तु चाप्रतिष्ठिताप्रतिष्ठितासमवायेऽप्रतिष्ठितानामेवेति । अप्रतिष्ठिताः—निर्धनाः । इति मिताक्षरा ।

अथ च दायभागः । चतुर्थेऽध्याये—किं तूक्तादेव हेतोः पुत्रकुमारी-दुहित्रोस्तुल्यवदधिकारः । एतयोश्चान्यतराभावेऽन्यतरस्य तद्धनं द्वयो-रप्येतयोरभावे तूदाया दुहितुः पुत्रवत्याः संभावितपुत्रायाश्च तुल्योऽधिकारः स्वपुत्रद्वारेण पार्वणपिण्डदानसंभवात् । अत एव पूर्वोक्तदुहित्रभावे दौहित्र-स्यैव धनाधिकारः । 'दौहित्रोऽपि ह्यमुत्रैवं संतारयति पौत्रवत् । ९।१३९ इति मनुवचनात्, न तु वन्ध्याविधवादुहित्रोः स्वसत्ताया स्वजन्यसत्ताया च पार्वणपिण्डदानाभावात् । अत एव नारदः—

पुत्राभावे च दुहिता तुल्यसन्तानदर्शनात् । ना. १३-५०
अत एव मिताक्षरादायभागयोर्भेदः । सपिण्डेति पदं द्विधा व्याख्यातमुभाभ्यां तेन द्विधा संप्रदायः प्रवृत्तस्तत्तदग्रन्थप्रामाण्यात्तत्तद्वेशेषु । दायभागस्य वङ्गीयपण्डितकृतत्वात्तस्य तद्वेशे प्रामाण्यम् । श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरस्य दाक्षिणा-त्यत्वात् महाराष्ट्रादिषु प्राबल्यम् । गुर्जरादिषु पूर्वोक्तोभयग्रन्थकृतसदृशस्य कस्यापि विदुषो ग्रन्थाभावाद् मिताक्षराया एव प्राबल्यम् । यद्यपि गुर्जर-

वक्त्रेषु तत्तद्वन्थप्रामाण्यं तथापि तद्भिन्नस्यापि प्रसङ्गविशेषात् प्रामाण्य-
माद्रियते । अन्येऽपि १ विवादताण्डव २ वीरमित्रोदय ३ व्यवहारमयूख ४
वृत्तकर्मिमांसा ५ संस्कारकौस्तुभ ६ दायतत्त्व ७ दायक्रमसंग्रह ८ विवादा-
र्णवसेतु ९ विवादभङ्गार्णव १० वृत्तकर्मिमांसा ११ विवादचिन्तामणि १२
स्मृतिचन्द्रिका १३ पराशरमाधवेतिग्रन्थाश्च तत्तद्देशेष्वाम्रियन्ते ।

अथ दायविभागो व्यवहारमयूखाद्यनुसारेणोच्यते तथाहि— दायवि-
निर्णयोपयोगि स्वत्वम्—स्वामित्वम् । तच्च कथप्रतिग्रहादिजन्यः शक्तिविशेषः ।
तत्कारणता तु क्रयादीनां लोकव्यवहारादेव गम्यते न शास्त्रात् । तद्वनभि-
ज्ञानामपि तद्दर्शनात् । स्वामी रिक्थक्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमेषु ब्राह्मण-
स्याधिकं लब्धं क्षत्रियस्य विजितं निर्विष्टं वैश्यशूद्रयोः । (गौ० ध० सू०
१०-३९-४२) इति तल्लोकसिद्धकारणानुवादकत्वेन गौतममतमपाकृतम् ।
स्वामिस्वत्वध्वंसमात्रेण यत् स्वस्य भवति तद् रिक्थमिति प्रयुज्यते लोकाः ।
पितरि जीवति, उत्पत्त्यैव पुत्रादयोऽर्थस्वामित्वं लभन्ते 'उत्पत्त्यैवार्थस्वामि-
त्वम्' इत्यादिवचनैस्तथा बोधनात् । तथा च—

भूर्या पितामहोपात्ता निबन्धो द्रव्यमेव च ।

तत्र स्यात्सदृशं स्वाम्यं पितुः पुत्रस्य चोभयोः ।

इति याज्ञवल्क्यः ॥ 'पितर्युपरते पुत्रा विभज्युः' इति देवलवचनं तु विभाग-
कालपरं न स्वत्वनिषेधकं तत् । पितुर्मणिमुक्ताधारणे प्रभुत्वं तादृशं न
पुत्रादीनां तस्मिन्जीवतीति बोधयितुं, स्थावरादिवाने तु पितुर्नाधिकारः । अत
एवोक्तम्—

स्थावरं द्विपदं चैव यदपि स्वयमर्जितम् ।

असंभूय सुतान् सर्वान् न दानं न च विक्रयः ॥

इति । दानविक्रयादीनामेव निषेधो न भोगस्य । जेतुरपि वृषस्य सर्वभूदाने
नाधिकारः । अत एव मीमांसार्या षष्ठेऽध्याये (६-७-३) सार्वभौमेन सर्वा
पृथ्वी मण्डलिकेन च मण्डलं देयमित्युक्तम् । संपूर्णपृथ्वीमण्डलस्य तत्ताद-
ग्रामक्षेत्रादौ स्वत्वं तु तत्तद्भौमिकादीनामेव । राज्ञां तु करग्रहणमात्रम् । अत
एवेदानीं तनपारिभाषिकक्षेत्रदानादौ न भूदानसिद्धिः किंतु वृत्तिकल्पन-
मात्रमेव ।

दायपदस्य लक्षणम्—असंसृष्टं विभजनीयं धनं दायः । लाभाद्यर्थसंसृष्ट-
धनव्यावृत्तयेऽसंसृष्टमिति । अत एव वाणिगादिभिर्विभज्यमाने द्रव्ये न दाय-
पदप्रयोगः । स्मृतिसंग्रहे—

पितृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् ।

कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागोऽधुनोच्यते ॥

इति । निघण्टौ—

विभक्तव्यं पितृद्वयं दायमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।

पितृपदं संबन्धिमात्रोपलक्षणम् । अयं दायो द्विधा । सप्रतिबन्धाप्रतिबन्ध-
भेदेन । यत्र धनस्वामिनस्तत्पुत्रादेश्च जीवनं प्रतिबन्धकं स सप्रतिबन्धो यथा
पितृव्यादिधनम् । यत्तु स्वामिसंबन्धादेव पुत्रादेर्धनार्जनोपायान्तरनिरपेक्ष-
त्वात् स्वत्वं भवति सोऽप्रतिबन्धः । यथा पितृधनम् । तस्य विभागः—

विभागोऽर्थस्य पित्र्यस्य पुत्रैर्यत्र प्रकल्प्यते ।

दायभाग इति प्रोक्तं तद्विवादपदं बुधैः ॥

पुत्रैरिति पौत्रादीनामुपलक्षणम् । पित्र्यस्येति पितामहादीनाम् । द्रव्य-
सामान्याभावेऽपि त्वत्तोऽहं विभक्त इति व्यवस्थामात्रेणापि भवत्येव
विभागः । तस्यैव लक्षणम्—

बुद्धिविशेषमात्रमेव हि विभागः ।

तेन भोजनादिषु सामानाधिकरण्येऽपि न क्षतिः । मनुर्विभागकालमाह—

ऊर्ध्वं पितुश्च मातुश्च समेत्य भ्रातरः समम् ।

भजेरन् पैतृकं रिक्थमनीशास्ते हि जीवतोः ॥

चशब्दोपादानेऽपि मरणसमुच्चयो न विवक्षितः । मदनरत्ने स्मृतिसंग्रहे—

पितृद्रव्यविभागः स्याज्जीविन्यामपि मातरि ।

न स्वतन्त्रतया स्वाम्यं यस्मान्मातुः पतिं विना ॥

एतदपवदतो बृहस्पतिनारदौ—

बृहस्पतिः—

पित्रोरभावे भ्रातृणां विभागः संप्रदर्शितः ।

मातुर्निवृत्ते रजसि जीवतोरपि शस्यते ॥

नारदः—

मातुर्निवृत्ते रजसि प्रत्तासु भगिनीषु च ।

निवृत्ते चापि रमणे पितर्युपरतस्पृहे ॥

प्रत्तासु भगिनीषु चेति काकाक्षिगोलकन्यायेनोभयत्र रजोरमणनिवृत्त्योः

संबध्यते । ततश्चैवं सिद्धम्— ऊर्ध्वं पितुः पुत्रा रिक्थं विभजेरन् । निवृत्ते

रजसि मातुर्जीवति पितरि चेच्छतीति । क्वचित्पितुरिच्छां विनाऽपि विभागः ॥

बृहस्पतिः—

क्रमागते गृहक्षेत्रे पितापुत्राः समांशिनः ।

पैतृके न विभागार्हाः सुताः पितुरनिच्छया ॥

अर्थात् पितामहाद्यर्जिते पितुरनिच्छयापि विभागः । क्वचित् पितुरिच्छयापि

पैतामहद्रव्यस्य विभागमाह तुर्मनुविष्णू । अकामे पितरि व्याध्यादिना चा-

समर्थेऽन्यथाशास्त्रकारिणि च ज्येष्ठभ्रातृसंमत्या विभागो भवति । हारीतः—

कामं वीनि प्रोषिते आर्तं गते वा ज्येष्ठोऽर्थान्श्चिन्तयेत् । शङ्खलिखितमतेन

ज्येष्ठानुमत्या कार्यज्ञो ज्येष्ठानन्तरजोऽपि चिन्तयेदर्थान् । सर्वेषां तथारथे

त्वनियमः । याज्ञवल्क्येन सर्वे पुत्राः समांशिनः कर्तव्या ज्येष्ठो वा विशिष्टां-
शेन संभावनीय इत्युक्तम् । अत्रैवेच्छा नियामिका नाव्यवस्थाकरणे ।

‘विभागं चेत् पिता कुर्याद्विच्छया विभजेत्सुतान् ।

ज्येष्ठं वा श्रेष्ठभागेन सर्वे वा स्युः समांशिनः ॥

यदि पूर्वोक्तव्यवस्था नेष्येत तर्हि एकस्मै लक्षं कस्मैचित् कपर्दिकां, अन्यस्मै
न किमपि दातव्यमित्यव्यवस्थापत्तिः । मनुना ज्येष्ठविभागे नवमाध्याये
विशेष उक्तः—

ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धारः सर्वद्रव्याश्च यद्वरम् ।

तदर्थं मध्यमस्य स्यात्तदर्थं तु कनीयसः ॥

उद्दारेऽनुद्धृते त्वेषामियं स्यादंशकल्पना ।

एकाधिकं हरेज्ज्येष्ठः पुत्रोऽध्यर्थं ततोऽपरः ॥

अंशमंशं यवीयांस इति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ।”

यमलयोर्मध्ये प्रथमप्रसूतस्य ज्यैष्ठ्यमाह मनुः—

जन्मज्येष्ठेन चाह्वानं सुब्रह्मण्यास्विति स्मृतम् ।

यमयोश्चैव संज्ञासु जन्मतो ज्येष्ठता मता ॥

यस्य जातस्य यमयोः पश्यन्ति प्रथमं सुखम् ।

संतानः पितरश्चैव तस्मिञ्ज्यैष्ठ्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

इति । यत्तु पिण्डसिद्ध्यादिवैद्यकग्रन्थेष्वनन्तरप्रसूतस्य ज्यैष्ठ्यमुक्तं तद-
नेन कार्यांशे बाध्यते । तस्याश्रुतिमूलत्वात् । मासेन शुद्धीभवतीति श्रुत् ।
यत्तु—

द्वौ तदा भवतो गर्भौ सूतिर्वंशविपर्ययात् ।

इत्यादिना भागवते पश्चाज्जातस्य ज्यैष्ठ्यमुक्तं तदप्यनेन बाध्यते । पुराणेषु

स्मृतिविरुद्धाचाराणां बहुशो दर्शनात् । देशाचारतो व्यवस्था ज्ञेयेति कीचित् ।

युक्तं तु पूर्वोक्तमेव । अयं च विशिष्टविभागः कलौ नेष्टः । कलिवर्ज्येषु पाठात् ।

पितुरिच्छानुसारं समविषमद्रव्यात्मको विभाग इति नारद वचनं—

‘पित्रैव तु विभक्ता ये समन्यूनाधिकैर्धनैः ।

तेषां स एव धर्मः स्यात् सर्वस्य हि पिता प्रभुः ।’

इति युगान्तरपरम् । यदि पुत्राणां विभागः क्रियते । तदा पत्न्योऽपि समां-
शकाः कर्तव्याः—

‘यदि कुर्यात्समानंशान् पत्न्यः कार्याः समांशिकाः ।

न दत्तं स्त्रीधनं यासां भर्त्रा वा श्वशुरेण वा ॥

यदि स्त्रीधनत्वेनार्थं दत्तं तर्हि पुत्रैः समांशभाक्त्व पत्न्या यथा भवति तथा
वर्तितव्यम् । अधिकधनं तु न देयम् । ‘शक्तस्थानीहमानस्य किञ्चिद् दत्त्वा
प्रतिक्रिया’ इति याज्ञवल्कीयात् अर्जनसमर्थस्य पितृद्रव्यमनिच्छतः पुत्रस्य

किञ्चिद्वानेन पृथक्क्रिया कर्तव्या । पितृमरणानन्तरं तु समविभाग एव ।
समानो मृते पितरि रिक्थभाग इति ह्यारीतः । अधना जननी पुत्रसमान-
भागा कर्तव्या । सापन्नमातुः पितामह्याश्चांशमाह व्यासः—

असुताश्च पितुः पत्न्यः समानांशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।

पितामहश्च ताः सर्वा मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

सर्वा इयन्येन पितामहीसपत्न्योऽपि गृह्यन्ते । पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरः ।
तत्सुताः सर्वे भ्रातरः । तत्स्वसारो भगिन्य इति वचनात् । तदेतद्वचनं दाय-
भागपरं न मातृलग्नोत्रवर्जनादावुपयोगि ।

अनंकपितृकाणां पितृतो भागकल्पनेति याज्ञवल्क्यवचसाऽनेकभ्रातृ-
पुत्राणां पितृतो भागकल्पना कर्तव्या । प्रपौत्रपुत्रानिः पितृपितामहप्रपिता-
महेषु भृतेष्वनन्तरं वृद्धप्रपितामहे मृतेऽन्यस्मिंश्च तत्पुत्रादिके जीवति तद्धनं
न लभते । पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रसामान्याभावे सोऽपि लभत एवेत्यर्थः ।

अविभक्तविभक्तानां कुल्यानां वसतां सह ।

भूयो दायविभागः स्यादाचतुर्थादिति स्थितिः ॥

इति देधलोक्तेः । इदं तद्देशजविषय उक्तम् । देशान्तरस्थस्तु पञ्चमादिरपि
लभते ।

तृतीयः पञ्चमश्चैव सप्तमश्चापि यो भवेत् ।

जन्मनामपरिज्ञाने लभेतांशं क्रमागतम् ॥

इति देशान्तरप्रक्रमेण बृहस्पतिः । क्वचिन्मातृतो विभागमाह बृहस्पतिः—
यद्येकजाता बहवः समाना जातिसंख्यया ।
सापत्न्यासौर्ध्विभक्तव्यं मातृभागं धर्मतः ॥

व्यासः—

समानजातिसंख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सूनवः ।

विभिन्नमातृकास्त्वेषां मातृभागः प्रशस्यते ॥

अयं मातृसमानो विभागो याज्ञवल्क्येनानुमत इति प्रतीयते । 'प्रराजिष्यन्
वा अरेऽहमस्मि । अनया कात्यायन्यान्तं ते करवाणि' इति बृहदारण्यकोक्तेः ।
विजातीयविभागमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

चतुस्त्रिद्व्येकभागाः स्युः क्रमशो ब्राह्मणात्मजाः ।

क्षत्रजास्त्रिद्व्येकभागाः विड्जास्तु द्व्येकभागिनः ॥

बृहस्पतिः—

न प्रतिग्रहभूदेया क्षत्रियादिसुताय वै ।

यद्यप्येषां पिता दद्यान्मृते विप्रासुतो हरेत् ॥

देवलः—

शूद्रां द्विजातिभिर्जातो न भूमेर्भागमर्हति ।

सजातावाप्नुयात्सर्वमिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥

अपरिणीतशूद्रापुत्रस्तु द्रव्यांशमपि न लभते । तथा च मनुः—

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्रापुत्रो न रिक्थभाक् ।

यदेवास्य पिता दद्यात्तदेवास्य धनं भवेत् ॥

पितृमरणोत्तरं विशेषमाह बृहस्पतिः—

अनपत्यस्य शुश्रूषुर्गुणवान् शूद्रयोनिजः ।

लभेत जीवनं शेषं सापिण्डाः सममाप्नुयुः ॥

शूद्रापुत्रवत्पतिलोमास्त्विति गौतमधर्मसूत्रे । विभागानन्तरोत्पन्नपुत्रे विशेष-
माह गौतमः—विभक्तजः पित्र्यमेव । बृहस्पतिरपि—

“ पुत्रैः सह विभक्तेन पित्रा यत्स्वयमर्जितम् ।

विभक्तजस्य तत्सर्वमनीशाः पूर्वजाः स्मृताः ॥

यथा धने तथर्णे च दानाधानकयेषु च ।

परस्परमनीशास्ते मुक्त्वाऽशौचादिकाक्रियाम् ॥

केवलर्णदानप्रसङ्गे तु विभक्तेभ्यो द्रव्यं गृहीत्वा ऋणं देयम् । पितृमरणोत्तरं
विभागकालेऽस्पष्टगर्भायां मातरि तत्सपत्न्यां भ्रातृपत्न्यां वानन्तरसमुत्पन्ने
विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

विभक्तेषु सुतो जातः सवर्णायां विभागभाक् ।

विभागश्च सर्वैर्भ्रातृभिः स्वस्वांशात् किञ्चित् किञ्चिदुद्धृत्य यथा स्वांशसमो
भवति तथा कार्यः । ‘पितृविभक्तविभागा अनन्तरोत्पन्नस्य विभागं दद्युः’

(आप० ध० सू०) तदंशेषु रेकसेकसहिते स एवाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

दृश्याद्वा तद्विभागः स्यादायव्ययविशोधितात् ।

पितृमरणोत्तरं विभागे विशेषमाह बृहस्पतिः—

असंस्कृता भ्रातरस्तु ये स्युस्तत्र यवीयसः ।

संस्कार्याः पूर्वजेनैव पैतृकान्मध्यकाद्धनात् ॥

भ्रातृग्रहणं भगिनीनामप्युपलक्षणम् ।

असंस्कृतास्तु यास्तत्र पैतृकादेव ता धनात् ।

संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिर्ज्येष्ठैः कन्यकाश्च यथाविधि ॥

इति भगिनीसंस्कारे भ्रातृभिः स्वीयश्चतुर्थोऽंशो देयः प्रत्येकम् । वायग्रहण-
व्यवस्थोपयोगितया मुख्यगौणपुत्रव्यवस्थामाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

औरसो धर्मपत्नीजस्तत्सुतः पुत्रिकासुतः ।
क्षेत्रजः क्षेत्रजातस्तु सगोत्रेणेतेरेण वा ॥
गृहे प्रच्छन्न उत्पन्नो गृहजस्तु सुतः स्मृतः ।
कानीनः कन्यकाजातो मानामहसुतो मतः ॥
अक्षतायां क्षतायां वा जातः पौनर्भवः स्मृतः ।
दद्यान्माता पिता वा यं स पुत्रो दत्तको भवेत् ॥
क्रीतश्च ताभ्यां विक्रीतः कृत्रिमः स्यात्स्वयं कृतः ।
दत्तात्मा तु स्वयंदत्तो गर्भे विन्नः सहोदजः ।
उत्सृष्टो गृह्यते यस्तु सोऽपविद्धो भवेत्सुतः ॥

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एवं द्वादश पुत्राः । पुत्रिकापुत्रो द्विधा । तत्र प्रथमः—

अभ्रातृकां प्रदास्यामि तुभ्यं कन्यामलंकृताम् ।

अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्रो भविष्यति ॥

इति । द्वितीयश्च-द्वितीयः पुत्रिकैवेति वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्रम् । अस्मिन् पक्षे कन्य-
यैवौर्द्ध्वदेहिकं कार्यम् । अत्र दत्तकमित्रा गौणाः पुत्राः कलौ वर्ज्याः । 'दत्तौ-
रसेतराणां तु पुत्रत्वेन प्रतिग्रहः' इति तन्निषेधेषु पाठात् । पुनर्विभागमाह मनुः—
विभागे यत्र संदेहो दायादानां परस्परम् ।
पुनर्विभागः कर्तव्यः पृथक्स्थानस्थितैरपि ॥

विभक्तकृत्यमाह नारदः—

यद्येकजाता बहवः पृथग्धर्माः पृथक्क्रियाः ।

पृथक्कर्मगुणोपेता न चेत्कार्येषु संमताः ॥

स्वभावाद्यादि दृष्टुं विक्रीणीयुरथापि वा ।

कुर्युर्यथेष्टं तत्सर्वमीशास्ते स्वधनस्य वै ॥

इति । पञ्चमहायज्ञादयो धर्माः । ते विभक्ताः परस्परानुमितिं विनापि दान-
विक्रयादि कुर्युरित्यर्थः ।

अविभक्ता विभक्ता वा दायादाः स्थावरे समाः ।

एको ह्यनीशः सर्वत्र दानाधमनविक्रये ॥

इति । यद् बृहस्पतिमतं तद् द्रव्यांशे विभक्तानामप्यविभक्तयोः पृथक्पृथक्
स्यादिदानादानुमतिं विनाधिकारप्रतिषेधार्थमिति मदनः । विभक्ताविभक्त-
संदेहनिरासार्थं विभक्तानुज्ञया व्यवहारसौकर्यार्थमिति विज्ञानेश्वरादयः ।
स्वेच्छया विभक्तं पुनश्च धिवदमानं प्रत्याह स एव बृहस्पतिः—

स्वेच्छाकृतविभागो यः पुनरेव विसंवदेत् ।

स राज्ञांशे स्वके स्थाप्यः शासनीयोऽनुबन्धकृत् ॥

अनुबन्धः—निर्बन्धः ।

इत्यप्रतिबन्धो दायः ।

अथ सप्रतिबन्धदायविषय उच्यते—

तत्र विभक्तस्यासंसृष्टिनो धनग्रहणे क्रममाह—

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा ।
तत्सुता गोत्रजा बन्धुशिष्यसब्रह्मचारिणः ॥
एषामभावे पूर्वस्य धनमाशुत्तरोत्तरः ।
त्वयांतस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥

—अ० २ श्लो० १३५-१३६

पत्न्या अपुत्रविभक्तासंसृष्टपतिस्वापतेयग्रहणे प्रथमाधिकारप्रातेपादः । पराणि भूयांसि स्मृतिवचनानि । तत्र बृहस्पतिः—

आज्ञाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः ।
शरीरार्थं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥
यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्थं तस्य जीवति ।
जीवत्यर्धेशरीरेऽर्थं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥
सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृमातृसनाभिभिः ।
अपुत्रस्य प्रमत्तस्य पत्नी तद्भागहारिणी ॥

इति । योगीश्वरोऽपि पूर्वभावे पराधिकारं वदन् सर्वप्राथम्येन पत्न्या एवाधिकारमभिधत्ते । विष्णुरपि—‘अपुत्रधनं पत्न्यभिगामि, तदभावे दुहितृगामि, तदभावे पितृगामि, तदभावे मातृगामि, तदभावे भ्रातृगामि, तदभावे भ्रातृपुत्रगामि, तदभावे बन्धुगामि, तदभावे सकुल्यगामि, तदभावे शिष्यगामि, तदभावे सहाध्यायिगामि, तदभावे ब्राह्मणधनवर्जं राजगामीति । बन्धुरत्र सपिण्डः । सकुल्यः सगोत्रः । बन्धुपदेन वक्ष्यमाणपितृबन्धादिग्रहणे योगीश्वरोक्तक्रमविरोधापत्तेः । स्त्रीविषये तात्त्विकीं व्यवस्थामाह कात्यायनः—

भोक्तुमर्हति क्लृप्तांशं गुरुशुश्रूषणे रता ।

न कुर्याद्यदि शुश्रूषां चैलं पिण्डं नियोजयेत् ॥

इति । गुरुः श्वशुरादिः । तदिच्छायाभंशभावत्त्वमन्यथा प्रासाच्छादनमात्रमित्यर्थः । शङ्कितव्यभिचारायाः अपि भरणमात्रमेव ।

‘विधवा यौवनस्था चेन्नारी भवति कर्कशा ।

आयुषः क्षपणार्थं तु दातव्यं जीवनं तदा ॥

इति हारीतः । कर्कशा—‘शङ्कितव्यभिचारा’ इति मिताक्षरा । तत्सिद्धं संयता पत्नी धनमाप्नुयाति । अनेकास्तु ता विभज्य गृहीयुः । यत्तु ‘तस्मात् स्त्रियोऽनिन्द्रिया अदायादाः’ इति श्रुतिवचनं तन्मूलकं च निरिन्द्रिया ह्यदायादाः स्त्रियो नित्यामिति स्थितिः । (मनु० ९-१८) इति मनु-

वचनं तद् द्वयमपि यासां शृङ्गमाहिकया धनं नोक्तं तद्विषयमवसेयम् । तस्या
अभावे दुहिता । अत एव मनुः—

यथैवात्मा तथा पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा ।

तस्यामात्मनि तिष्ठन्त्यां कथमन्यो धनं हरेत् ॥ .

दुहितरोऽनेकाश्चेद्विभज्य गृहीयुः । तत्रापि ऊढान्कुर्यात् देव ।

पत्नी भर्तुर्धनहरी या स्यादव्यभिचारिणी ।

तदभावे तु दुहिता यद्यनूढा भवेत्तदा ॥

इति कात्यायनीयात् । ऊढास्तु सधनानिर्धनयोर्निर्धनैव लभेत् । स्त्रीधनं

दुहितृणामप्रदानां, अप्रतिष्ठितानां चेति गौतमोक्तेः (गौ. ध. सू. २८-२९)।

अप्रतिष्ठिताः—निर्धनाः । स्त्रीपदं पितुरप्युपलक्षणम् । इति साम्प्रदायिकाः ।

अत्र साम्प्रदायिकपदेन श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरग्रहणम् ।

चतुर्थव्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।

स्मृतिनिबन्धगतदायभागयोस्तारतम्यम् ।

दुहित्रभावे दौहित्रः—

अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः ।

पूर्वेषां तु स्वधाकारे पौत्रा दौहित्रका मताः ॥

इति विष्णुक्तेः । दौहित्राभावे पिता, तदभावे माता । अत्र विज्ञानेश्वरः *पितरा-
वित्येकशेषविग्रहे माता च पिता च पितरौ' इति, अत्र मातुः पूर्वनिवेशात्
पूर्वं माता तदनन्तरं पितेति क्रममाह परं तत् कात्यायनवचोविरुद्धं तत्रैक-
शेषसमासो नास्ति पिता मातेत्यसमस्ते पदे । तथा च कात्यायनः—

अपुत्रस्यास्य कुलजा पत्नी दुहितरोऽपि वा ।

तदभावे पिता माता भ्राता पुत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

मातुरभावं सोदरो भ्राता, तदभावे तत्पुत्रः । यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरादयो भिक्षो-
दराः सोदराभावे माह्वाः, तदभावे सोदरसुता इत्याहुस्तच्च भ्रातृपदस्य
सोदरे शक्त्या भिक्षोदरे च गौण्या वृत्तिद्वयविरोधात् । सोदरत्वेन धन-
सम्बन्धवता पितृव्येण सहेतरभ्रातृपुत्राः समांशं लभेरन् । भ्रातृपुत्राभावे
गोत्रजाः सापिण्डाः । तत्राप्यादौ पितामही ।

मातर्यपि च वृत्तायां पितुर्माता हरेद्धनम् ।

इति मनुक्तेः । यद्यपीयं मातुरनन्तरं श्रुता तथापि बद्धक्रमभ्रातृपुत्रान्तेषु मध्ये
निवेशायोगादागन्तुनामन्ते निवेश इतिवत् भ्रातृपुत्रान्ते निवेश्या ।

तदभावे भगिनी ।

अनन्तरः सापिण्डाद्यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेत् ।

इति मनुक्तेः ।

बहवो ज्ञातयो यत्र सकुल्या बान्धवास्तथा ।

यस्त्वासन्नतरस्तेषां सोऽनपत्यधनं हरेत् ॥

इति बृहस्पत्युक्तेः । तस्यां अपि भ्रातृगोत्र उत्पन्नत्वेन गोत्रजत्वाविशेषाच्च ।

* अत्र जीमूतवाहनरुतदायभागे— पितरावित्यत्र पितृक्रम एवावगम्यते । तथा हि पितृ-
पदात् मातिपदिकात् प्रथमं पितुरवगतेः पश्चात्तु द्विवचनबलेन एकशेषकल्पनया मातुरव-
गमात् । अत्र वीरमित्रोदयरुतोभयोरपि स्रण्डनं कृतं सोपालम्भो बाग्विसर्गश्च कृतः । माता-
पित्रोर्गुणवद्गुणवत्त्वापेक्षया व्यवस्था तेन विकल्प इति वीरमित्रोदयसिद्धान्तः ।

सगोत्रता परं नास्ति । तदभावे पितामहसपत्नभ्रातरौ विभज्य गृह्णीतः ।
स्वजनकजनकत्वेन स्वजनकजन्यत्वेन च समानप्रत्यासत्तः । प्रत्यासत्ति-
साम्ये पाठक्रमाद्यणुविशेषान्तराभावे चान्यत्राप्येवमेव । तेन तयोरभावे
प्रपितामहपितृव्यभिन्नोदरभ्रातृपुत्रा विभज्य गृह्णीयुः सर्वसपिण्डाः समानो-
दकाश्च प्रत्यासत्तिक्रमेण । तांश्चाह मनुः—

सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते ।

समानोदकभावस्तु जन्मनाम्नोरवेदने ॥

इति सप्तमेऽर्तति इत्यर्थः । सोदकाभावे बन्धवः । ते च स्मृत्यन्तरे । ते नव-
१ आत्मपितृष्वसृपुत्रः । २ आत्ममातृष्वसृपुत्रः । ३ आत्ममातुलपुत्रः । ४
पितुः पितृष्वसृपुत्रः । ५ तन्मातृष्वसृपुत्रः । ६ तन्मातुलपुत्रः । ७ मातुः मातृ-
ष्वसृपुत्रः । ८ तत्पितृष्वसृपुत्रः । ९ तन्मातुलपुत्रः ।

बन्धूनामभाव आचार्यः । तदभावे शिष्यः । पुत्राभावे प्रत्यासन्नः स-
पिण्डस्तदभाव आचार्यस्तदभावेऽन्तेवासी (आप० ध० सू० २-६-१४) ।
शिष्याभावे सहाध्यायी, तदभावे श्रोत्रियः । ‘श्रोत्रिया ब्राह्मणस्यानपत्यस्य
रिक्थं भजेरन्’ इति गौतमोक्तेः । तदभावेऽन्यो ब्राह्मणः ।

सर्वेषामप्यभावे तु ब्राह्मणा रिक्थभागिनः ।

त्रैविद्याः शुचयो दान्तास्तथा धर्मो न ह्यियते ॥

इति कात्यायनन्यायात् । नारदश्च—

सर्वत्रादायिकं राजा हरेद् ब्रह्मस्ववर्जितम् ।

अदायिकं तु ब्रह्मस्वं श्रोत्रियेभ्यः प्रदापयेत् ॥

बृहस्पतिः—

येऽपुत्राः क्षत्रविदश्शूद्राः पत्नीभ्रातृविवर्जिताः ।

तेषां धनहरो राजा सर्वस्यापि पतिर्हि सः ॥

वानप्रस्थस्य तावत्—

अहो मासस्य षण्णां वा तथा संवत्सरस्य वा ।

अर्थस्य निचयं कुर्यात् कृतमाश्वयुजे त्यजेत् ॥

इति वचनाद्धनसम्बन्धोऽस्त्येव । यतेरापि ‘कौपीनाच्छादनार्थं वा वासोऽपि
बिभूयाच्च यः । योगसंभारभेदांश्च गृह्णीयात् पादुके तथा’ इति वचनाद्
वस्त्रपुस्तकसंबन्धोऽस्त्येव नैष्ठिकस्यापि शरीरयात्रार्थं वस्त्रादिसंबन्धोऽस्त्ये-
वेति तद्विभागकथनं युक्तमेव । -इति मिताक्षरा । यत्यादे रिक्थविषये
याज्ञवल्क्यः—

वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणां रिक्थभागिनः ।

क्रमेणाचार्यसच्छिष्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिनः ॥

ब्रह्मचारी नैष्ठिकः । उपकुर्वाणस्य तु पित्रादय एव । धर्मभ्राता प्रतिपन्नो

भ्राता । एकतीर्थः— एकाश्रमी । आचार्यादीनां प्रातिलोभ्येन क्रम इति विज्ञानेश्वरः । वनस्थस्य 'धनमाचार्यो गृह्णीत शिष्यो वा (वि० ध० १५-१५) इति विष्णुक्तेरानुलोभ्येनेति मदनः । मृतस्य रिक्थहारिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौर्ध्वदेहिकं दशाहान्तं कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णुः— यश्चार्थहरः स पिण्डदायी स्मृतः । इति ।

अथ संसृष्टिनिर्णयः ।

तत्र संसर्गमाह—

विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा भ्रात्रा वैकत्र संस्थितः ।

पितृव्येणाथ वा प्रीत्या स तत्संसृष्ट उच्यते ॥

अत्र पितृभ्रातृपितृव्यैरेव सह संसृष्टता नान्येन वचनेऽनुपादानादिति मिताक्षरादिषु । विभागकर्तृसामानाधिकरण्येनैव सा इति युक्तम् । पित्रादिपदानि तु विभागकर्तृमात्रोपलक्षकानि । तेन पत्नीपितामहभ्रातृपौत्रपितृव्यपुत्रादिभिरपि सह संसृष्टता भवति । विभक्तो य एकत्र स्थितः स संसृष्ट इति सामानाधिकरण्याद्विभक्तभ्रात्रोः पुत्रादीनां न संसर्गः । विद्यमानं भावि वा धनमावयोः पुनर्विभागावाधि साधारणमित्याकारिका बुद्धिरिच्छा वा संसर्गः । तत्र संसृष्टिनां पुनर्विभागे विशेषमाह मनुः—

संसृष्टाः सह जीवन्तो विभजेरन् पुनर्यदि ।

समस्तत्र विभागः स्याज्ज्यैष्ठ्यं तत्र न विद्यते ॥

संसृष्टिनां द्रव्यन्यूनाधिकभावेऽपि सम एव विभागः समस्तत्रेत्यनेन बाधितत्वात् । आचारोऽप्येवम् । तेनाचारमूलकत्वेऽस्य वचसः संभवति तद्विरुद्धश्रुतिकल्पनमन्याय्यम् । व्यवहारशास्त्रस्य व्याकरणवत्प्रायेणाचारमूलकत्वाच्चेति तु परे ।

संसृष्टिनां तु यः कश्चिद्विद्याशौर्यादिभिर्धनम् ।

प्राप्नोति तस्य दातव्यो द्वांशः शेषाः समांशिनः ॥

इत्यनेन संसृष्टिविभागे संसृष्टधनविरोधेनाप्यर्जने भागद्वयम् । संसृष्टिधनहरणाधिकारिणमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदरः ।

— अ० २ श्लो० १३८.

‘पत्नी इदितरः’ इत्यस्यापवाद पवाच्यम् । तेनायमर्थः—संसृष्टिधनहरणाधिकारितावच्छेदकं न पत्नीत्वादि किन्तु संसृष्टत्वमिति । विज्ञानेश्वरादिभिरुत्सर्गापवादयोः समविषयत्वनियमात् संसृष्टिसंनिहितपत्न्या-

द्विसङ्गावेऽपि, अन्यः संसृष्ट्येव गृह्णीयादिति तच्चिन्त्यम् । समानविषयत्वं तु न सर्वांशेऽपेक्ष्यते । किन्तु यथाकथंविन्मृतसपिण्डविषयतया । असंसृष्टि-सोदरसंसृष्टिभिन्नोदरयोर्विभज्य धनग्रहणमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

अन्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी नान्योदर्यो धनं रेत् ।

असंसृष्ट्यपि चादद्यात्संसृष्टो नान्यमातृजः ॥

अभ्रान्योदर्यान्यमातृजावेपदैर्न सापत्नो भ्रातैर्वाच्यते किंतु पितृव्यादिरपि योगाविशेषात् । तेनैकः संसृष्टत्वेन परः सोदरत्वेनेति द्वावपि विभज्य गृह्णीयातामिति निष्कर्षः । मनुः—

येषां ज्येष्ठः कनिष्ठो वा द्वीयेतांशप्रदानतः ।

म्रियेतान्यतरो वापि तस्य भागो न लुप्यते ॥

सोदर्या विभजेयुस्तं समेत्य सहिताः समम् ।

भ्रातरो ये च संसृष्टा भगिन्यश्च सनाभयः ॥

द्वीयेताश्रमगतिपातित्यादिना । अन्तर्धनादिविषये विशेषमाह प्रजापतिः—

अन्तर्धनं तु यद् द्रव्यं संसृष्टानां तु तद्भवेत् ।

भूमिं गृहं त्वसंसृष्टाः प्रगृह्णीयुर्यथांशतः ॥

अन्तर्धनं भूमिनिक्षेपादिना गोपितुं शक्यं सुवर्णरूप्यादि । संसृष्टो भिन्नोदरो गृह्णीयात् । भुवं तु सोदरभ्रातरः । गवाश्वादि तु सोदरासोदरभ्रातरः । संसृष्टिविषये शङ्खनारदयोर्मतम्—

भ्रातृणामप्रजाः प्रेयात् कश्चिच्चेत्प्रव्रजेत वा ।

विभजेरेन् धनं तस्य शेषास्ते स्त्रीधनं विना ॥

भरणं चास्य कुर्वीरेन् स्त्रीणामाजीवनक्षयात् ।

रक्षन्ति शय्यां भर्तुश्चेदाच्छिन्न्युरितरासु तु ॥

या तस्य दुहिता तस्याः पित्रंशाद्भरणं मतम् ।

आसंस्काराद्धरेद्भागं परतो विभूयात् पतिः ॥

संसृष्टिभरणे तदीयासंसृष्टिभ्रात्रादीनां क्रमः । मदनेन तत्राप्यादौ माता ततः पिता, ज्येष्ठा संयता पत्नी तदभावे भगिनी दुहिता वा । दुहितृभगिन्योरभावेऽनन्तरः सपिण्डः । इति ।

दायभागे जीभूतवाहनकृते (९७ पत्रे कालिकातामुद्रिते) तत्र मनुना—
त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यं त्रिषु पिण्डः प्रवर्तते' इति ९-१८६ दायभागप्रकरणे कीर्तनात्, याज्ञवल्क्येनापि 'पिण्डद्वौऽशहरश्चैषाम्' । २-१३३ इति पिण्डदानेनाधिकारदर्शनात्पुत्रस्यापि सातिशयपिण्डदानेन नरकत्राणकारणतया मुख्यभावेनाधिकारवगतेः—

मातुलो भागिनेयस्य स्वस्त्रीयो मातुलस्य च ।

श्वशुरस्य गुरोश्चैव सख्युर्मातामहस्य च ॥

एतेषां चैव भार्यभ्यः स्वसुर्मातुः पितुस्तथा ।

आद्धदानं तु कर्तव्यमिति वेदविदां स्थितिः ॥

इति वृद्धशातातपवचनात् । अमीषां पिण्डवत्त्वप्रतिपादनादयं पिण्डदान-
विशेषादधिकारिक्रमः । तत्र प्रथमं देवरः, तत्पिण्डतद्भर्तृपिण्डतद्भर्तृदेयपूर्व-
पुरुषत्रयपिण्डदातृत्वात् सापिण्डत्वाच्च तद्धनेऽधिक्रियते । तदभावे भ्रातृ-
श्वशुरदेवरयोः सुतः तत्पिण्डतद्भर्तृपिण्डतद्भर्तृदेयपूर्वपुरुषत्रयपिण्डदातृ-
त्वात् सापिण्डत्वाच्च पितृव्यस्त्रीधनेऽधिकारी । तदभावे त्वसपिण्डोऽपि
भगिनीपुत्रः । [तत्पिण्डतत्पुत्रदेयतत्पित्रादिपिण्डत्रयदानात् मातृस्वसृधनेऽ-
धिकारी । तदभावे स्वभर्तृभागिनेयः पुत्राद् भर्तृकुलत्वात् तत्स्थानपाति-
नोरपि तथैव बलाबलस्य न्याय्यत्वात् तद्भर्तृदेयपूर्वपुरुषत्रयपिण्डदानात्
तात्पिण्डदानात् तद्भर्तृपिण्डदानाच्च मातृलानीधनेऽधिकारी । तदभावे
भ्रातृसुतः तत्पितृपितामहयोस्तस्याश्च पिण्डदानात् पितृस्वसृधनेऽधिकारी ।
तस्याप्यभावे श्वशुरयोः पिण्डदानाज्जामाता श्वश्रूधनेऽधिकारीति ।

जीमूतवाहनकृतदायभागश्रीकृष्णतर्कालंकारव्याख्यायामेकादशे षष्ठपरि-
च्छेदे—अत्रायं मृतपुंघनाधिकारिक्रमः । तत्र प्रथमं पुत्रः, तदभावे पौत्रः,
तदभावे प्रपौत्रः, मृतपितृकपौत्र, - मृतपितृपितामहकप्रपौत्रयोस्तु पुत्रेण सह
युगपदधिकारः । प्रपौत्रपर्यन्ताभावे पत्नी । सा च प्राप्तभर्तृदाया भर्तृकुलं
तदभावे पितृकुलं वा समाश्रिता सती शरीररक्षार्थं भर्तृदायं भुञ्जीत तथा
भर्तृरुपकारार्थं यथाकथंचिद् दानादिकमपि कुर्वीत न तु स्त्रीधनवत्
स्वच्छन्दं विनियुञ्जीत । तदभावे दुहिता, तत्र प्रथमं कुमारी, तदभावे
वाग्दत्ता, तदभावे ऊढा सा च पुत्रवती संभावितपुत्रा च द्वे युगपदेवाधि-
कारिण्यौ, वन्ध्या पुत्रहीना विधवा च नाधिकारिणी । ऊढाया अभावे दौ-
हित्रः, तदभावे पिता, तदभावे माता, तदभावे भ्राता तत्रापि प्रथमं सोदरः
तदभावे वैमात्रेयः, मृतस्य भ्रातृसंसृष्टे तु सोदरमात्रविषये प्रथमं संसृष्टसोदर
एवाधिकारी तदभावे चासंसृष्टसोदरः । एवं वैमात्रेयमात्रविषये प्रथमं सं-
सृष्टवैमात्रेयः, तदभावे चासंसृष्टवैमात्रेयः । यदा तु संसृष्टो वैमात्रेयः, सोदर-
श्चासंसृष्टस्तदा तावुभौ तुल्यवदधिकारिणौ । भ्रातृणामभावे भ्रातृपुत्रः ।
तत्रापि प्रथमं सोदरभ्रातृपुत्रः, तदभावे वैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रः, संसर्गे तु सोदर-
भ्रातृपुत्रमात्रविषये प्रथमं संसृष्टसोदरभ्रातृपुत्रः, तदभावे चासंसृष्टसोदर-
भ्रातृपुत्रः । वैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रमात्रविषये प्रथमं संसृष्टवैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रः, तद-
भावे चासंसृष्टवैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रः, यदा तु सोदरभ्रातृपुत्रोऽसंसृष्टो वैमात्रेय-
भ्रातृपुत्रश्च संसृष्टः तदा द्वौ भ्रातृवत्तुल्याधिकारिणौ । भ्रातृपुत्राभावे भ्रातृ-
पौत्रः तत्रापि भ्रातुः सोदरासोदरक्रमः संसर्गासंसर्गक्रमश्च बोध्यः । तद-
भावे पितृदौहित्रः स च सोदरभगिनीपुत्रः, वैमात्रेयभगिनीपुत्रः, तदभावे

पितामहः, तदभावे पितामही, तदभावे पितुः सहोदरः, तदभावे पितुर्वैमा-
त्रेयः, तदभावे पितृसोदरपुत्रपितृवैमात्रेयपुत्रपितृसोदरगैहोदरपितृसोदरपौ-
त्राणां क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे पितामहदौहित्रः, तत्रापि पितृसोदरभगिनी-
पुत्रः, तदभावे पितृवैमात्रेयभगिनीपुत्रश्च वक्ष्यमाणप्रणितामहदौहित्राधि-
कारेऽप्येवं, तदभावे प्रपितामहः, तदभावे प्रपितामही, तदभावे पितामह-
सहोदरभ्रातृतद्वैमात्रेयभ्रातृतत्पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रप्रपितामहदौहित्राः क्रमेणाधि-
कारिणः । एतावत्पर्यन्तानां धनिभोग्यपिण्डदातृणामभावे धनिदेयपिण्ड-
दातृणां मातामहमातुलादीनामधिकारः । तत्र प्रथमं मातामहस्तदभावे
मातुलतत्पुत्रपौत्राणां क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे चाधस्तनकुल्यानां धनि-
देयपिण्डदातृणां प्रतिप्रणप्तृप्रभृतिपुरुषत्रयाणां क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे
पुनरुर्ध्वसकुल्यानां धनिदेयलेपभुक् वृद्धप्रपितामहादितत्संततनिमासात्ति-
क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे समानोदकानामधिकारः । तेषामभावे चाचार्यस्य
तदभावे शिष्यस्य तदभावे सन्नह्यचारिणोऽधिकारः । तदभावे चैकग्रामस्थ-
सगोत्रसमानप्रवरयोः क्रमेणाधिकारः । उक्तपर्यन्तानां सर्वेषां संबन्धि-
नामभावे ब्राह्मणधनधर्जं राजा गृह्णीयात् । ब्राह्मणधनं तु त्रैविद्याविगुण-
शुक्ता ब्राह्मणा गृह्णीयुः । एवं वानप्रस्थधनं भ्रातृत्वेनानुमतोऽपरवानप्रस्थ
एकतीर्थसेवी गृह्णीयात् । तथा यतिधनं सच्छिष्यः । नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचारिणो
धनमाचार्यः, उपकुर्वाणस्य तु ब्रह्मचारिणो धनं पित्रादिगृह्णीयादिति संक्षेपः॥

जीमूतवाहनदायभागस्यान्तिमश्लोकैरिव ज्ञातुं शक्यं यन्निबन्धन्याख्या-
नान्निर्विपरिवर्तितः स्मृतीनामर्थो मया (जीमूतवाहनेन) तत्संवादार्थं प्रयत्नः
क्रियत इति ।

नाचार्यगोरवपरिहृतः त्रयभाग-

तत्स्वप्रबोधजनरञ्जनमत्र शक्यम् ।

किंतु प्रमाणपरतन्त्रधियां मुनीनां

संवादमात्रकृतये कृतिनः प्रयत्नः ॥ १ ॥

बहुविधं निबन्धन्याख्यासंज्ञातसंशयस्यैतत् ॥

जीमूतवाहनकृतं प्रकरणम् पक्षे ध्येयम् ॥ २ ॥

पारिमद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमान् जीमूतवाहनः ।

दायभागं अकारमं विदुषां संशयच्छिदे ॥ ३ ॥

इदानीमुक्तस्य दायस्यापवादमाह-

हृषीकोऽथ पतितस्तज्जः पञ्चमस्तकः जडः ।

अन्धोऽधिर्नित्यरोग्याद्या भर्तव्याः स्युर्निरंशकाः ॥

इति याज्ञवल्कीयात् क्लीबादयो निरंशाः । आद्यशब्देनाभ्रमान्तरगतपितृद्वेष्य-
पपातकिषधिरभूकनिरिन्द्रियाणां ग्रहणम् । तथा च नारदः —

पितृद्विदः पतितः षण्ढो यश्च स्यादौपपातिकः ।

औरसा अपि नैतैऽशं लभेरन् क्षेत्रजाः कुतः ॥

तथापि तेषां भरणं कर्तव्यम् ।

सर्वेषामपि तु न्याय्यं दातुं शक्त्या मनीषिणा ।

भासाच्छादनमत्यन्तं पतितो ह्यदद्ववेत् ॥

— मनु० ९ - १०२

इति मनुस्मरणात् । एतेषां विभागात्प्रागेव दोषप्राप्तौ अनंशत्वमुपपन्नं न
पुनर्विभक्तस्य । विभागोत्तरकालमप्यौषधादिना दोषनिर्हारेण भागप्राप्ति-
रस्त्येव ।

विभक्तेषु सुतो जातः सवर्णायां विभागभाक् ।

इत्यस्य समानन्यायत्वात् । पतितादिषु पुंलिङ्गत्वमविवक्षितं तेन तादृश-
कन्यानामपि भरणं कर्तव्यम् । क्लीबादिपुत्रादयस्तु नानंशाः—

‘औरसाः क्षेत्रजास्त्वेषां निर्दोषा भागहारिणः ।’

औरसोऽप्यौषधमित्रद्व्युदासार्थम् । तथैव तदूहितृणामपि भरणम् ।

सुताश्चैषां प्रभर्त्तव्या यावद्वै भर्तृसात्कृताः ।

तेषामव्यभिचारिपत्नीनां भरणं कर्तव्यम्—

अपुत्रा योषितश्चैषां भर्तव्याः साधुवृत्तयः ।

निर्वास्या व्यभिचारिण्यः प्रातेऽलास्तथैव च ॥

अथ स्त्रीधनम्—

अध्यग्न्यध्यावाहनिकं दत्तं च प्रीतिकर्मणि ।

भ्रातृमातृपितृप्राप्तं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥

इति मनुः । अत्रैव याज्ञवल्कीयमन्तर्भवति । मनूक्तौ षडिति न्यूनसंख्या-
व्यवच्छेदार्थम् । विष्णुश्चाधिकमाह—

‘पितृमातृसुतभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतमाधिवेदानिकं बन्धुदत्तं शुल्का-
न्वाधायकम् । [वि. ध. १७-१८] । अध्यग्न्यादीन्याः कात्यायनः—

विवाहकाले यत्स्त्रिभ्यो दीयते त्वमिसंनिधौ ।

तदध्यभिक्षुतं सद्भिः स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

यत्पुनर्लभते नारी नीयमाना पितृगृहात् ।

अथवा तद्वत् नाम स्त्रीधनं तदुदाहृतम् ॥

प्रीत्या दत्तं तु यत् किञ्चित् श्रेयसा वा श्रेयस्येण वा ।

पादवन्दनिकं चैव प्रीतिदत्तं तदुच्यते ॥
विवाहात् परतो यत्तु लब्धं भर्तृकुलात् स्त्रिया ।
अन्वाधेयं तु तत् प्रोक्तं यल्लब्धं स्वकुलात्तथा ॥
गृहोपस्करवाह्यानां दोह्याभरणकर्मणाम् ।
मूल्यं लब्धं तु यत् किञ्चित् शुल्कं तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥

गृहोपस्कराद्यलाभे तन्मूल्यं कन्यादानकाले कन्यायै दत्तं तच्छुल्कमित्यर्थः ।
आधिवेदनिकं याज्ञवल्क्येन लक्षितम्—

अधिविज्ञास्त्रियै दद्यात् आधिवेदनिकं समम् ।
न दत्तं स्त्रीधनं यासां दत्ते त्वर्थं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

देवलः—

भर्त्रा प्रतिश्रुतं देयमृणवत् स्त्रीधनं सुतैः ।

कात्यायनः—

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृज्ञातिभिः स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियै ।
यथाशक्त्या द्विसाहस्राद्वातव्यं स्थावराद्वेत् ॥

स्थावरातिरिक्तं सहस्रद्वयपणावधि देयमिति मदनः । व्यासः—द्विसाहस्रः
परो दायः' इत्यादिना इदं द्विसहस्रावधिकं दानं प्रतिवर्षम् । अनेकवर्षेष्वि-
तोऽधिकमपि शक्तौ स्थावरमपि च देयमिति स एवाह । दायोदवञ्चनेन दत्ते
भारणमात्रार्थं दत्ते च भूषणादौ स्त्रीस्वत्वं नास्तीत्याह कात्यायनः—

तत्र सोपधि यद्वत्तं यच्च योगवशेन वा ।
पित्रा भ्रात्राथ पत्या वा न तत् स्त्रीधनमुच्यते ॥

शिल्पप्राप्ते पित्रादिभिन्नसख्यादिप्राप्तेऽपि स्त्रीधनत्वं नास्तीत्याह स एव—

प्राप्तं शिल्पैस्तु यत् किञ्चित् प्रीत्या चैव यदन्यतः ।
भर्तुः स्वाम्यं तदा तत्र शेषं तु स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥

शिल्पाद्यर्जितधनं स्त्रीभिः स्वतन्त्रतया न विभजनीयम् । अत एव मनुः—

न निर्हारं स्त्रियः कुर्युः कुटुम्बाद्बहुमध्यगात् ।
स्वकादपि च वित्ताद्धि स्वस्य भर्तुरनुज्ञया ॥

इति । निर्हारो व्ययः । कस्मिंश्चिद्धने स्वातन्त्र्यमाह कात्यायनः—

ऊढया कन्यया सार्धं पत्युः पतिगृहेऽथवा ।
भ्रातुः सकाशात् पित्रोर्वा लब्धं सौदायिकं स्मृतम् ॥
सौदायिकं धनं प्राप्य स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्यते ।
यस्मात्तदा- शंस्यार्थं तैर्दत्तमुपजीवनम् ।

सौदायिके सदा स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यं परिकीर्तितम् ।
 विक्रये चैव दाने च यथेष्टं स्थावरेष्वापि ॥
 भर्तृवत्ते स्थावरे तु न स्वातन्त्र्यम् ।
 भर्त्रा प्रीतेन यद्वत्तं स्त्रियै तस्मिन् मृतेऽपि तत् ।
 सा यथाकाममभ्रीयाद्दद्याद्वा स्थावरादृते ॥

इति नारदोक्तः । भर्त्रादीनां स्त्रीधने स्वातन्त्र्याभावमाह स एव —
 न भर्ता नैव च सुतो न पिता भ्रातरो न च ।
 आदाने वा विसर्गे वा स्त्रीधने प्रभविष्णवः ॥
 यदि त्वेकतरो ह्येषां स्त्रीधनं भक्षयेद् बलात् ।
 सवृद्धिकं स दाप्यः स्याद्दण्डं चैव समाप्नुयात् ॥
 तदेव, यद्यनुज्ञाप्य भक्षयेत् प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।
 मूलमेव स दाप्यः स्याद्यदा स धनवान् भवेत् ॥

मनुः—

जीवन्तीनां तु तासां ये तद्धरेयुः स्वबान्धवाः ।
 ताञ्च शिष्याञ्चौरदण्डेन धार्मिकः पृथिवीपतिः ॥
 पत्यौ जीवति यः स्त्रीभिरलंकारो धृतो भवेत् ।
 न तं भजेरन् दयादा भजमानाः पतन्ति ते ॥

धृतः— भर्तृप्रभृतिभ्यस्तया धृतः । देवलः—

वृत्तिराभरणं शुल्कं लाभश्च स्त्रीधनं भवेत् ।
 भोक्त्रा च स्वयमेवेदं पतिर्नाहृत्यनापदि ।
 वृथा मोक्षे च भोगे च स्त्रियै दद्यात्सवृद्धिकम् ।
 पुत्रार्तिहरणे वापि स्त्रीधनं मोक्तुमर्हति ॥

वृत्तिर्जीवनार्थं पित्रादिदत्तं धनम् । लाभो वृद्धिः । मोक्षस्त्यागो दानम् । पुत्र-
 कुटुम्बोपलक्षकम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ संप्रतिरोधकं ।
 गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्ता नाकामो दातुमर्हति ॥

अत्र भर्तृग्रहणात् तद्विधेन दुर्भिक्षाद्यापद्यपि स्त्रीधनं न ग्राह्यमित्युक्तम् ।
 संप्रतिरोधकं—बन्धनम् । क्वचिदकामो दद्यादित्याह देवलः—

अथ चेत्स द्विभार्यः स्यान्न च तां भजते पुनः ।

प्रीत्या निसृष्टमपि च पतिर्वाप्यश्च तद्वलात् ॥

धासाच्छादनवासानामाच्छेदो यत्र योषितः ।

तत्र स्वमादधीत स्त्रीविभागं रिक्थिनस्तदा ॥

रिक्थिनः सकाशात् । इदं साध्वीपरम् । स्त्रीमरणोत्तरमन्वाधेयाख्यतद्धन-
ग्रहणेऽधिकारिव्यवस्थामाह मनुः—

अन्वाधेयं च यद्वत्तं पत्या प्रीतेन चैव यत् ।

पत्यौ जीवति वृत्तायाः प्रजायास्तद्धनं भवेत् ॥

प्रजां विशिनाष्टि स एव ।

जनन्यां संस्थितायां तु समं सर्वे सहोदराः ।

भजेरन् मातृकं रिक्थं भगिन्यश्च सनाभयः ॥

यत्र इहित्राद्यभावेन पुत्राणामेव साहित्येनाधिकारः प्राप्तस्तत्र तत्साहित्यम् ।
यत्र तु कन्यानामेवाधिकारः प्राप्तस्तत्र तत्साहित्यमनूद्यते । न तु कन्यापुत्रयोः
परस्परमप्राप्तं साहित्यं विधीयते इति मिताक्षराशयः । परे त्वन्वाधेयमर्तु-
प्रीतिवृत्तविषये कन्यापुत्रयोरपूर्वं साहित्यं विधीयत इत्याहुः । भगिनीषु
विशेषमाह मनुः—

स्त्रीधनं स्यादपत्यानां इहिता च तदंशिनी ।

अप्रन्ता चेत्समूढा तु लभते मानमात्रकम् ॥

तदंशिनी पुत्रसमांशिनी । अप्रन्ताभावे सध्वानां मातृसमोऽशः ।

भगिन्यो बान्धवैः सार्धं विभजेरन् सभर्तृकाः ।

इति कात्यायनोक्तेः । दौहित्रीभ्योऽपि किञ्चिद्वेयम् ।

यास्तासां स्युर्दुहितरस्तासामपि यथार्हतः ।

मातामह्या धनात् किञ्चित् प्रदेयं प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ॥

इति मनूक्तेः । यौतकं त्वनूढानामेव न पुत्राणाम् । तथा च मनुः—

मातुस्तु यौतकं यत् स्यात् कुमारीभाग एव सः ।

यौतकं विवाहादिसमये पत्या सहैकासने प्राप्तं युतयोयौतकमिति निघण्टूक्ते-
रिति मदनः । अन्वाधेयादिभिस्ते पूर्वोक्ते पारिभाषिके स्त्रीधने तु विशेषमाह
गौतमः । (गौ० ध० सू० २८-२२) स्त्रीधनं इहितृणामप्रत्तानामप्रतिष्ठितानां
चेति ब्राह्मणी कन्या तु सपत्नीमातुरपि धनं गृह्णीयात् इत्याह मनुः—

स्त्रियास्तु यद्भवेद्वित्तं पित्रा वत्तं कथंचन ।

ब्राह्मणी तद्धरेत्कन्या तदपत्यस्य वा भवेत् ॥

वाकारश्चार्थः । तेन विभज्येति लभ्यते । ब्राह्मणीपदं समोत्तमजाति-
त्योपपत्त्युक्तं कर्मात् केचित् । मानं तत्र चिन्त्यम् । इहितृणामभावे इहितृ-
संततिः । 'मातुर्दुहितरोऽभावे इहितृणां तदन्वयः । इति नारदोक्तेः । भिन्न-

मातृकाणां इहितृणां दौहित्राणां च । 'अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना'
(या० २-१२०) इति न्यायेनांशकल्पना । यत्तु याज्ञवल्क्यः—

मातुर्दुहितरः शेषमिति तत्राप्यन्वयपदं कन्यासंततिपरमिति केचित् । परे
तु इहित्रभावे पुत्रा एव गृह्णीयुः । नारदीये तदा मातुरेव परामर्शादित्याहुः ।
आचारसंवादी चायं पक्षः । शेषमृणादिति ऋणसमं तन्न्यूनं वा पुत्रा एव
गृह्णीयुरिति सांप्रदायिकाः । इहित्रादीनामभावे पुत्रपौत्राद्या गृह्णीयुः । अयं
इहित्रादीनां मातृधनाधिकारः पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधन एव । तेन पूर्वोक्तानि
स्त्रीधनपदविशिष्टानि वचांसि पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधनपराण्येव । तेन पारिभाषि-
कातिरिक्तं स्त्रीधनं (मातृधनं) इहितृसत्त्वेऽपि पुत्रादय एव लभेरन् । उभय-
विधसंतत्यभावे तु पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधनं प्रकृत्य विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

अतीतायामप्रजसि बान्धवास्तदवाप्नुयुः ।

विवाहभेदेन बान्धवव्यवस्थामाह—

अप्रजः स्त्रीधनं भर्तृर्ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वपि ।

इहितृणां प्रसूता चेत् शेषेषु पितृगामि तत् ॥

ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वपीति विप्रपरम् । तेषामेव तं प्रति धर्म्यत्वात् । यस्य तु
क्षत्रियादेर्गान्धर्वोऽपि धर्म्यस्तस्य तदूढाधनमपि भर्तुरेव । तथा च मनुः—

ब्राह्मदैवार्षगान्धर्वप्राजापत्येषु यद्धनम् ।

अतीतायामप्रजसि भर्तुरेव तद्विध्यते ।

यच्चस्यै स्याद्धनं दत्तं विवाहेष्वासुरादिषु ।

अतीतायामप्रजसि मातापित्रोस्तद्विध्यते ॥

ब्राह्मादिविवाहेषु भर्तुरभाव आसुरादिषु च पित्रोरभावे पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधने-
ऽधिकारिण आह बृहस्पतिः—

मातृष्वसा मातुलानी पितृव्यस्त्री पितृष्वसा ।

श्वश्रुः पूर्वजपत्नी च मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

यदासामौरसौ न स्यात् सुतो दौहित्र एव वा ।

तत्सुतो वा धनं तासां स्वस्त्रीयाद्याः समाप्नुयुः ॥

इहितृदौहित्रोरप्यभावोऽत्र बोध्यः । तदभाव एवौरसदौहित्रयोराधिकारात् ।
आसुरादिविवाहेषु बन्धुवृत्तेषु कात्यायनः—

बन्धुदत्तं तु बन्धूनामभावे पुत्रगामि तत् ।

इतिहासे तु गौतमः— 'अग्निनांशुलं सोदर्याणामूर्ध्वं मातुः ।' इति । यत्तु
याज्ञः— 'शुलं च स्वयं वोढेति तद्विवाहात्प्राक् सूतार्या बोध्यम् । अत्र
विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

मृतायां दत्तमावृधात्परिशोध्योभयव्ययम् ।

पूर्वं दत्तं मृतायां कन्यायां स्वस्य तस्याः पितुश्च व्ययावृद्धिशङ्कं भर्ता
गृह्णीयादित्यर्थः । क्वचिद्विशेषमाह बौधायनः—

रिक्थं मृतायाः कन्याया गृह्णीयुः सोऽवराः समम् ।

तदभावे तु तन्मातुस्तदभावे पितुर्भवेत् । इति ।

इदं विवाहात् प्राङ् मृतायां वाग्दानकालीनमातामहाविद्वत्तालंकारादिविषय-
मिति साम्प्रदायिकाः । स्त्रीधनविषये मिताक्षराकृन्मतेऽयं विशेषो यत्तैः
स्त्रीधनमिति पदं यौगिकमेव गृह्यते तेन स्त्रियाः धनम्—स्त्रीधनम्— इति
विग्रहेण येन केनाप्युपधिना स्त्रिया लङ्धं स्त्रीधनमित्यर्थस्तत्संमतः । न च
तैः पूर्वोक्तं पारिभाषिकं तदङ्गीक्रियते । तथा च मिताक्षराकृद्विज्ञानेश्वर-
स्वामिनः स्त्रीविषये करुणामयबुद्ध्याऽऽलोचयन्तीति वक्तुं शक्यम् । तथा च
याज्ञवल्क्यदायभागप्रकरणे—

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतम् ।

आधिवेदनिकायं च स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ १४३ ॥

इत्यस्य श्लोकस्य टीकायां “ स्त्रीधनशब्दश्च यौगिको न पारिभाषिको योग-
संभवे परिभाषाया अयुक्तत्वात् ” इति मिताक्षरामन्थः ।

इति पञ्चमव्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।

धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यानमाला ।

षष्ठं व्याख्यानम् ।

दत्तकविधिं निर्दिश्याधुनातनविप्लवस्थले विद्वत्कर्तव्यम् ।

दायभागविषयं व्याख्यानद्वयेन प्रतिपाद्याधुना (१) दत्तकविषये धर्म-
शास्त्रयिं मतं बोधयामि (२) तत्र च मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यशाकलवसिष्ठस्मृति-
स्थानि निबन्धगतानि वचांसि च निर्दिश्य तत्सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये तत्र तत्र
दर्शयामि । (३) तदनु न्यायालयेष्वधुनातनेषु अत्यन्तं विपरीतः पन्था
वैविध्येनाद्रियते तद्दर्शयामि । (४) ततश्च दत्तकविषये नित्यत्वकाम्यत्वादि
पर्यालोचयामि । (५) अथ च यत्र हिंदुव्यवहारधर्मशास्त्रे विप्लवो भवति तत्र
विद्वद्भिः किं कर्तव्यतामापद्यते । Hindu Law Research Committee इयं
संसत् किं कार्यं विदधाति तन्मीमांसायित्वा तदनुसरणमेव श्रेयो वेति
विचारपद्वीमानेष्यामि ।

१।२ पित्रर्णापकरणार्थं पुत्रप्रतिग्रह आवश्यकः । एवंभूतः सुतो दत्तकः ।
मनुः—

माता पिता वा दद्यातां यमद्भिः पुत्रमापदि ।

सदृशं प्रीतिसंयुक्तं स ज्ञेयो दत्त्रिमः सुतः ॥

— मनु० ९-१६८.

वाशब्दान्मात्रभावे पितैव दद्यात्, पित्रभावे मातैव दद्यात्, उभयसत्त्वे तूभा-
वपि इति मदनः । आपदग्रहणादनापदि न देयः । सदृशं गुणकुलादिभिर्न
जात्या । अतः क्षत्रियादिरपि विप्रादेर्वत्तको भवतीति मेधातिथिः । सदृशं
जात्येति । कुल्लूकभट्टः । युक्तं चैतत् । याज्ञवल्क्येन— 'औरसो धर्मपत्नीज'
इति द्वादशापि पुत्रानुपक्रम्य—

‘सजातीयेष्वयं प्रोक्तस्तनयेषु मया विधिः ।

इत्युपसंहारात् । विज्ञानेश्वरोऽप्येवम् । ज्येष्ठो न देय इत्ययमपि निषेधो
दातुरेव न प्रतिगृहीतुः । दत्तकश्च पुमानेव भवति न कन्या । ‘स ज्ञेयो दत्त्रिमः
सुतः’ इति संज्ञासंज्ञिसंबन्धबोधकवाक्यगतेन ‘स’ इति सर्वनाम्ना माता-
पितृकृतप्रीतिजलगुणकापन्निमित्तकदानकर्मीभूतसजातीयपुंस एव— अष्टवर्ष
ब्राह्मणमुपनयति तमध्यापयति— इति तच्छब्देनाष्टवर्षब्राह्मणपुंस्त्वोपनय-
नावसिंस्कृतस्यैव परामर्शात् ।

शौनकोऽहं प्रवक्ष्यामि पुत्रसंग्रहमुत्तमम् ।

अपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा पुत्रार्थं समुपोष्य च ॥

इति शौनकवाक्यैः पुत्रप्रतिग्रहविधिरुक्तः । पूर्वोक्तशौनकवाक्येषु कानि-
चिच्छास्त्रीयविचारमहन्ति तेषां निर्देशः—

वस्त्रादिभिरलंकृत्य पुत्रच्छायावहं सुतम् ।

नृत्यगीतैश्च वाद्यैश्च स्वस्तिशब्दैश्च संयुतम् ॥

ब्राह्मणानां सपिण्डेषु कर्तव्यः पुत्रसंग्रहः ।

तद्भावेऽसपिण्डो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेत् ॥

क्षत्रियाणां स्वजातौ वा गुरुगोत्रसमोऽपि वा ।

वैश्यानां वैश्यजातेषु शूद्राणां शूद्रजातिषु ॥

सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां जातिष्वेव न चान्यतः ।

दौहित्रो भ्रात्रिण्यश्च शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते ॥

नैकपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पुत्रदानं कदाचन ।

बहुपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पुत्रदानं प्रयत्नतः ॥

छायावहं - सट्टशम् । अस्यैव पदस्य सामर्थ्याद्यः प्रतिगृहीतः पुत्रः संभवति
गोत्रादिवैपरीत्याप्रतिबन्धकत्वादित्यादिः कौश्रिदतिदूरान्वितोऽर्थः संपादितः
स त्याज्यः । अतिक्लिष्टत्वात् । सट्टशो नाम गुणादिभिः, वयोऽवस्थादिभिश्चे-
त्यनेनैव संतोष्यम् । पुत्रप्रतिग्रहबोधकानि वचांसि—

वसिष्ठः— 'शुक्रशोणितसंभवः पुत्रो मातापितृनिमिराकः ।

तस्य प्रदानविक्रयत्यागेषु मातापितरौ प्रभवतः ॥

'जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणैर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन
देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः । एष वा अनृणी यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारी च ।
इति श्रुतिः । अन्यत्र—

अपुत्रेऽपि सुतः कार्यो यादृक् तादृक् प्रयत्नतः ।

पिण्डोदकाक्रियाहेतोर्नामसंकीर्तनाय च ॥

वसिष्ठः—

अनन्ताः पुत्रिणो लोका नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्ति । न त्वेवैकं
पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृहीयाद्वा स हि संतानाय पूर्वेषाम् । न स्त्री पुत्रं दद्यात्
प्रतिगृहीयाद्वा अन्यत्रानुज्ञानाद्भर्तुः । पुत्रं प्रतिग्रहीष्यन् बन्धूनाह्वय राजानि
चावेद्य निवेशस्य मध्ये व्याहृतिभिर्हुत्वा अदूरबान्धवं बन्धुसंनिकृष्टमेव प्रति-
गृहीयात्, संवेदे चोत्पन्ने दूरबान्धवं शूद्रमिव स्थापयेत् । विज्ञायते हि
एकेन बहून्वायत इति । तस्मिंश्चेत् प्रतिगृहीत औरस उत्पद्येत चतुर्थभाग-
भागी स्याद् वृत्तकः ।

शौनकः—

दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रैस्तु क्रियते सुतः ।
ब्राह्मणादित्रये नास्ति भागिनेयसुतः क्वचित् ॥

दत्तकचन्द्रिकायां शौनकः—

ब्राह्मणानां सपिण्डेषु कर्तव्यः पुत्रसंग्रहः ।
तदभावेऽसपिण्डो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेत् ॥
दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्राणां वापि दाप्यते ।

दत्तकमीमांसायां शाकलः—

सपिण्डापत्यकं चैव सगोत्रजमथापि वा ।
अपुत्रको द्विजो यस्मात् पुत्रत्वे परिकल्पयेत् ॥
समानगोत्रजाभावे पालयेदन्यगोत्रजम् ।
दौहित्रं भागिनेयं च मातृष्वसृसुतं विना ।

व्यवहारमथूखे शौनकः—

सर्वेषां चैव वर्णानां ज्ञातिष्वेव न चान्यतः ।
दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते ॥

यमः—

दौहित्रे भ्रातृपुत्रे च होमादिनियमो न हि ।
वाग्दानादेव तत्सिद्धिरित्याह भगवान् यमः ॥

समन्त्रकहोमे शूद्रस्यानधिकारात् पुत्रप्रतिग्रहः शूद्रेण न कर्तव्य इति केचित्
तन्न, समन्त्रहोमस्य विप्रद्वारा करणेन कार्यसिद्धेः ।

उपवासो व्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नानजपादिकम् ।

विप्रैः संपादितं यस्य संपन्नं तस्य तद्भवेत् ॥

इति पराशरोक्तेः । अयं शूद्रार्थे कृतो होमो विप्रे दोषमुत्पादयति शूद्रे तु
साद्गुण्यमावहति । स्त्रिया अपि शूद्रवदधिकारः । 'स्त्रीशूद्राश्च सधर्माणः'
इति वासिष्ठात् । भर्त्रनुज्ञा तु सधवाया एव दृष्टार्थत्वात् । विधवायास्तु
तां विनापि पितुः, तदभावे ज्ञातीनामाज्ञया भवति । याज्ञवल्क्येनावस्था-
विशेष एव पारतन्त्र्यमुक्तम् । अतो यस्यामवस्थायां भर्त्रनुज्ञा प्राप्ता सैवा-
त्रानूद्यते न त्वपूर्वा विधीयते । अतो विधवाया भर्तुरनुज्ञां विनाप्यधिकारः ।
दूरबान्धवापेक्षया संनिहितबान्धवो दत्तको ग्राह्यः । तत्रापि भ्रातृपुत्रो मुख्यः ।

भ्रातृणामेकजातानामेकश्चेत् पुत्रवान् भवेत् ।

सर्वे ते तेन पुत्रेण पुत्रिणो मनुरब्रवीत् ॥

इति मनूक्तेः । दत्तको येन गोत्रेण संस्कृतस्तद्गोत्रं न जहाति ।

अयं च दत्तको द्विविधः केवलो द्यामुष्यायणश्च । संविदं विना दत्त आद्यः । आवयोरसाविति संविदा दत्तस्त्वन्त्यः । तत्राद्यः प्रतिगृहीतुरेवौर्ध्व-
देहिकश्राद्धादि कुर्यात् । पुत्रशब्देन सर्वं पुत्रकार्यं लक्षयित्वा तत्प्रयोजकम-
दृष्टं भाव्यमंगीकर्तव्यम् । अतः प्रतिगृहीतुकुले पुत्रपित्रादिसंबन्धविशेष-
प्रयुक्तानि कार्याणि प्रवर्तन्ते । अत एवाह मनुः—

गोत्ररिक्थे जनयितुर्न भजेद्वत्त्रिमः सुतः ।

गोत्ररिक्थानुगः पिण्डो व्यपैति ददतः स्वधा ॥

द्वत्त्रिमः केवलः । द्यामुष्यायणस्य तु गोत्रादिकमनुवर्तते । एवं च केवले
गोत्ररिक्थपिण्डस्वधापदैर्जनकादीनां पिण्डसंबन्धप्रयुक्तं कार्यमात्रं लक्ष-
यित्वा तन्निवृत्तिरुच्यते । तेन सोदरपितृव्यादिसंबन्धनिवृत्तिरपि सिद्धा
भवति । अतः केवलदत्तकजन्यः पुत्रोऽपि पितुः सपिण्डीकरणपार्वण-
श्राद्धादि प्रतिगृहीत्रैव सह कुर्यात् । एवं तत्पुत्रोऽपि । द्यामुष्यायणानुपक्रम्य
कात्यायनः ‘अथ यद्येषां स्वासु भार्यास्वपत्यं न स्याद्विक्थं हरेयुः पिण्डं
चैभ्यस्त्रिपुरुषं द्युरथ यद्युभयोर्न स्यात् उभाभ्यां द्युरेकस्मिन् श्राद्धे पृथगु-
द्दिश्य द्वावनुकीर्तयेत् प्रतिगृहीतारं चोत्पादयितारं चातृतीयात्पुरुषात्’ इति
द्यामुष्यायणपरम् । तेन द्यामुष्यायणो जनकस्य प्रतिगृहीतुर्वा पुत्रान्तरा-
सत्त्वे तस्मै पिण्डं दद्यात् रिक्थं च गृह्णीयात् । न तसत्त्वे । यदा तूभयोर-
प्यौरसाः सन्ति तदा कस्मा अपि न दद्यात् । प्रतिगृहीतौरसांशस्य च
चतुर्थं भागं हरेत् । यदा तूभयोः पुत्राभावस्तदा ‘एकस्मिन् श्राद्धे’ इत्या-
द्युक्तप्रकारेणोभयोरप्येकमेव श्राद्धं कुर्यात् । हेमाद्रौ कार्णाजिनिना यदुक्तं
तस्यायमर्थः— द्यामुष्यायणदत्तकादयो जनकप्रतिगृहीत्रोः कुले मृतानां
स्ववर्गैस्तत्पित्रादिभिः सह सपिण्डीकरणं कुर्युः । दत्तकादिपुत्रास्तु तेषां
जनकप्रतिगृहीतृभ्यां सह कुर्युः । तत्पुत्रा अपि स्वपितरं दत्तकेन पिता-
महेन तज्जनकेन प्रपितामहेन चतुर्थं पुरुषे तत्प्रपौत्रे छन्दः इच्छा प्रति-
गृहीतारमुच्चारयेन् वेति जनकं तूच्चारयेदेव साधारणेष्वमावास्यादिकालेषु
जनकप्रतिगृहीतृवर्गिणां श्राद्धं कार्यं मृताहे त्वेकमेवोद्दिश्यैकोद्दिष्टं श्राद्धं
कुर्यादिति । द्यामुष्यायणकानां गोत्रद्वयेऽप्यनुद्वाहः । अत एव प्रवराध्याये

द्यामुष्यायणका ये स्युर्दत्तककृतिकादयः ।

गोत्रद्वयेऽप्यनुद्वाहः शौङ्गशैशिरयोर्यथा ॥ इति ।

एतेन गोत्रद्वयं द्यामुष्यायणस्योक्तं मानवीयेन च जनकगोत्रनिवृत्तिरुक्तेति
विरोधः केवलद्यामुष्यायणभेदेनैव परिहरणीयः । तेन सिद्धत्येव केवलोऽपि
दत्तकः । अत एव शूरेण कुन्तिभोजाय दत्त्रिमत्वेन दत्तायाः कुन्त्याः
सुतस्यार्जुनस्य शूरपुत्रवसुदेवदुहितुः सुभद्रायाः मनुवचनेन सापिण्ड्य-
निवृत्तिमुक्त्वाऽस्य गौतमीयस्य बीजसंतानजाया अपि निषेधमात्रपर-

त्वमेव चोक्तवाऽऽर्जुनेन सुभद्रा अपरिणयेत्याशङ्क्य वार्तिकोक्तं संबन्ध-
व्यवधानकल्पनाख्यं समाधानमाह भट्टसोमेश्वरः । अर्जुनसुभद्रयोर्गान्धर्व-
विवाह इत्यापि विचार्यम् । अत्र च केवलदत्तकस्य पालकपितृकुले साप्त-
पौरुषं मातृकुले च पाञ्चपौरुषं सापिण्ड्यम् । कानिचित्सापिण्ड्याभाव-
बोधकानि वृद्धगौतमवृहन्मनुनारदवचनानि तान्यनाकारण्येव । यस्तु
सापिण्ड्यनिर्णये केषांचिन्मान्यानां लेखः— जनकगोत्रणोपनयनादि-
संस्कृतस्य तु जनककुले पितृतो मातृतश्च पाञ्चपौरुषं साप्तपौरुषं च
सापिण्ड्यं प्रतिगृहीतुः कुले त्रिपुरुषं प्रतिग्रहीतरि पितृत्वप्रयोजकस्योत्-
पादकत्वस्योपनेतृत्वस्य चाभावात् प्रतिगृहीतृगोत्रेण संस्कृतस्य तु प्रति-
गृहीत्रादिभिरेव साप्तपौरुषं पाञ्चपौरुषं चेति तस्य मूलं न विद्मः । कालिका-
पुराणवाक्यानामनाकरत्वात् । एवं च प्रतिगृहीतृगोत्रेणोपनयाद्यभावेऽपि
केवलदत्तके जनकगोत्रनिवृत्तिस्तत्सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्तिश्च सिध्यति भवति च
प्रतिगृहीत्रादिभिः सापिण्ड्यम् । इति । कन्याया दत्तकत्वेन जनकगोत्र-
विरुद्धगोत्रे विवाहः कर्तव्य इति केषांचिच्छिष्टानामधुनातन आचारो
निर्मूलः । वदन्ति च केचिदयमाचारो धर्मपीठसंमत इति । तथाप्यशास्त्री-
यायाः पूर्वोक्तसंमतेरस्वीकार्यत्वमेव श्रेय इति शास्त्रीयः पन्था इति शम् ।

अत्रेदमवश्यं मीमांसनीयम् । पुत्रप्रतिग्रहविधिर्नित्यः काम्यो वा । स
च न नित्यः किन्तु काम्यः । यत् अकृते प्रत्यवायसाधकं कृते फलाभाव-
साधकं तन्नित्यं पुत्रप्रतिग्रहाभावे दोषस्तु कुत्रापि नोक्तः । न च दत्तव्यं
'जायमानो वै' इत्यादिश्रुत्या पुत्रप्रतिग्रहस्यर्णापाकरणार्थमावश्यकतेति । किं
प्रजया करिष्यामो येषां नोऽयमात्मायं लोकः इत्यादिश्रुत्यात्प्रलोककामिनां
प्रजाफलस्यानुपयोगात् । एवं च पिण्डक्रियाहेतोर्नामसंस्कारिनाय चेत्यनेन
फलद्वयोद्देशेन विधानात् काम्यत्वमेव पुत्रप्रतिग्रहस्य । अधुना त्वेवमनुभूयते
यत्प्रतिगृहीतपुत्रा गृहित्रीमार्तृर्निन्दन्ति पीडयन्ति च । तेनेदं वक्तुं शक्यं
पुत्रप्रतिग्रहसंस्कारो धर्मशास्त्रानुसारं नानायतिकः । स च कदाचित् काले
रुद्ध्या परिगृहीतः यदा स रुद्ध्या परिगृहीतस्तदानीं तेन बन्धो लाभो अनु-
भूयन्ते स्म । अधुना तु तेन न किमपि लभ्यते किंतु बहुधा क्षतिरेव । पुरातन-
कालेऽधुनातनवत् पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रचारो नासीत् । मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिपुल-
भ्यमानाः प्रतिग्रहव्यवस्थाः (केन सुतो ग्राह्यः, कथं ग्राह्यः, एक एव चेन्न
ग्राह्यः, ज्येष्ठो न ग्राह्य इत्यादिकाः) वेदेन सन्ति । प्रत्युत स्मृतिद्विरोधिका
वैदिकी रुद्धिर्दृश्यते तथा हि पुत्राणां शतेऽनुकूलमतानुयामिनि जीवति
बिभ्वामित्रः शुनःशेषं पुत्रत्वेनोररीचकारेति ऋग्वेदे । यजुर्वेदेऽपि अत्रिः
पुत्राणां शतमपि महर्ष्य और्वाय प्रददौ । कन्याप्रतिग्रहनिषंधोऽपि स्मृतिकृतां
कुन्तिभोजने राज्ञा कुन्त्या धर्ममातुर्दत्तकविधिना प्रतिग्रहादपाकृतः । पूर्व द्वाद-

शानां पुत्राणां स्थितेर्दत्तकस्य तादृशं माहात्म्यं नासीत् । विना पुत्रं पिण्ड-
दानमशक्यमतः पुत्रप्रतिग्रहोऽपेक्ष्यत इत्यपि वक्तुमशक्यं स्वयमपि जीवता
पुरुषेण स्वपिण्डदानस्य शास्त्रे विहितत्वात् । द्वितीयश्च हेतुः— नामसंकी-
र्तनाय चेति । नामसंकीर्तनमावश्यकं नेति तत्तत्पुरुषमत्यधीनम् । यदि
नामसंकीर्तनार्थं पुत्रः स्वीक्रियते तर्हि शिवभूपवत्सोऽस्तु । स च स्वयमेव
तादृशपराक्रमी विलसेत् महाभागनाना फणवीस' इत्येतैर्दत्तकत्वेन पुत्रः
स्वीकृतः किं तेषां तत्सुतेन यशस आधिक्यमिति सुधीभिरुक्तम् । इदमेव
पुत्रप्रतिग्रहस्यावश्यकताबोधकं यदि स्वधनेन सह स्यात् किञ्चिदावश्यकं
राजकीयादिकार्यं तर्हि तन्निर्वोदं पुत्रस्यावश्यकता ।

व्याख्याकृतां निबन्धकृतां च मतिविलासः ।

समानस्यैव वचनस्यालम्बने तत्तद्व्याख्याकृतो विविधार्थान् प्रतिपाद-
यन्ति । अत्रार्थ उदाहरणम्—न स्त्री पुत्रं दद्यात् प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वा अन्यत्रानुज्ञाना-
द्भर्तुः । अत्र मिथिलास्थपण्डिता यथाश्रुतमक्षरार्थमाहृत्य विधवा पुत्रप्रतिग्रहे
नाधिकारिणीति वदन्ति । मद्रासव्यवहारो मोहमयीवंगमध्यस्थः । यतो
वंगेषु पत्युराज्ञापेक्ष्यते । मोहमयीमहाराष्ट्रेषु 'अप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतं भवति'
इति न्यायेन निषेधाभावे संमतिरस्तीति स्वीकार्यमेव । किंतु मद्रास-
प्रान्ते पत्यौ परलोकं गते पत्न्यां तस्याधिकाराभावात् तस्यानुज्ञा प्रति-
बन्धो वा न प्रयोजकः । मृतपतिबान्धवैर्दत्तकविषयेऽनुज्ञाप्यं न वेति
तदिच्छा । एवं च मद्रासस्थद्राविडाः पतिशब्दमुपलक्षणरूपमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति ।
भर्ता पतिः' इत्यादिशब्दा रक्षणकारिबोधकाः । ततश्च पत्यौ मृते तद्बान्ध-
वानां पालकत्वात्तदनुज्ञया दत्तकस्वीकारः । प्रामाण्यं स्मृतिवचसामप्रति-
हतं तथापि निबन्धकृतो व्याख्याकृतश्च स्वसमयस्थमाचारं शास्त्रेण सम-
न्वितं कर्तुं यथाकथमपि प्रयस्यन्ति । एवं च स्मृतिवृत्तामर्थाः स्वाचारा-
नुरोधात्परिभर्तयन्ति ते ते आचार्या व्याख्यातारो निबन्धकृतश्च । भागिनेय-
दौहित्रयोर्विचारः—

सपिण्डो दत्तकत्वेन स्वीकार्यः । तत्र दुहिता सपिण्डा भवति तेन
दौहित्रोऽप्यसपिण्डापेक्षया संनिकृष्टतरः । अनया रीत्या सापिण्ड्यस्य
प्रयोजकत्वे दौहित्रभागिनेययोर्दत्तकत्वेन स्वीकारोऽवश्यंभावी । पूर्वोक्त-
शौनकवचसः प्रक्षिप्तत्वाभावेऽपि 'ब्राह्मणाद्विषये नास्ति भागिनेयः सुतः
क्वचित्' अत्र भागिनेयस्यैव निषेधो न दौहित्रस्य । अन्येऽसगोत्रा न
ग्राह्याः किंतु दौहित्रभागिनेयौ ग्राह्यौ । एवं यद्वचनमालम्ब्यायं वादो विनि-
र्गतस्तद्वचनमेव न विश्वास्यं कर्नाटकेषु तु विशेषतो दौहित्रमेव प्रतिगृह्णन्ति ।
बंगाल रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसायटीस्थलिखितशौनकस्मृतिपुस्तके

‘दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते’ इति पाठः । दत्तकदीधितौ तु ‘दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्राणां वापि दीयते’ इति पाठः । किंतु पूर्वोक्तलिखितपुस्तके त्रैवर्णिकानां भागिनेयस्य दत्तकत्वेन ग्रहणे प्रतिबन्धकमुत्तरार्धं नास्ति । एवं चायमर्थः । त्रैवर्णिकैर्दौहित्रभागिनेयौ दत्तकत्वेन दातुं प्रतिगृहीतुं च योग्यौ तथैव शूद्रस्यापीत्यपिशब्देन बोध्यम् । दत्तकमीमांसायामुद्धृतं शाकलवचनमित्थम् ।

समानगोत्रजाभावे पालयेदन्यगोत्रजम् ।

दौहित्रं भागिनेयं च मातृष्वसृसुतं विना ॥

अन्येष्वसगोत्रीयेष्वेषु च त्रिषु महान् भेदः । अन्यापेक्षयैते समीपस्था अतः स्वीकार्याः । केचित्तु ‘पुत्रच्छायावहमित्यनेन प्रकृतसंबन्धाभावे यजनन्यासाकं विवाहः कर्तुं शक्येतेति बोध्यतेऽत एतेषां त्रयाणां ग्रहणे भगिन्या दुहित्रा मातृष्वस्त्रा च भार्यात्वसंबन्धो भवेदतस्त्याज्या एत इति वदन्ति । तन्मन्दम् । पुत्रच्छायावहमित्यस्यार्थो वयसा कनीयस्त्वमित्येव ग्राह्यः । अधिकार्यस्य लक्षणादिघटितत्वात् । एवं स्वपत्नीसंबन्धो यत्र घटेत तस्या एव सुतो ग्राह्य इति यद्यर्थस्तर्हि कनिष्ठभ्रातुर्दत्तकत्वेन स्वीकारो न स्यात् । तत्र च स्वीयजननीसंबन्धस्य संभाव्यमानत्वात् ।

आचूडान्तं न पुत्रः स पुत्रतां याति चान्यतः ।

चूडाद्या यदि संस्कारा निजगोत्रेण वै कृताः ।

दत्ताद्यास्तनयास्ते स्युरन्यथा दास उच्यते ।

इतीमानि कालिकापुराणवचांसि निर्मूलानि तेनोपनीतोऽपि विवाहितोऽपि च दत्तकत्वेन स्वीकारार्हः । उपनीतस्य द्यामुष्ययणत्वमित्यादि सापिण्ड्यदीपिकाकर्तुर्मतं पूर्वमेव खण्डितम् । अधुना न्यायालयेषु प्रतिग्रहविधिरयं जातो न वेति तत्सत्यताविषये बहवो विवादाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति परं ते धर्मशास्त्रीयवचनगतसर्वपदानुसारमनुष्ठानाभावात् प्रादुर्भवन्तीति ब्रूमः । राज्ञि राजपुरुषे वा सति ससाक्षिकं पुत्रप्रतिग्रहो लेखपुरःसरं वा कर्तव्यस्तेनेदृशा विवादा न संभवेयुः ।

अधुनाऽनंशेषु स्नुषाविषये किञ्चिदुच्यते । सांप्रतं ये श्रीलास्तेषां पुत्रेभ्यः कन्यानां प्रदानं क्रियते जनैस्तत्र चयं मतिः कन्यादातृणां प्रभवति यदियमस्मद्दुहिता विशेषतः सुखभाक् स्यात् । अत एव स्वसामर्थ्यादधिकमपि शुल्कं तन्निमित्तं वरपित्रे दीयते । ततश्च दौर्भाग्यवशाद्यदि

१ ‘पुत्रच्छायावहम्’ इत्यस्य तच्च नियोगादिना स्वयमुत्पादनयोग्यत्वम्’ इति नन्दपण्डितार्थः साहसमात्रम् । अत्यन्तं शास्त्रविरुद्धत्वात् ।

तत्पतिर्घ्रियेत तर्हि सा केवलमन्नवस्त्रभाक् । सा श्वशुरसेवामनुतिष्ठति । स च तां स्वसेविनीमनुमनुते । यदि न तस्य तादृशी मतिस्तर्हि सा तदपि न लभेत । इदं तु न युक्तियुक्तम् । यत इयं बहुधनव्ययेन श्रीलगृहे दत्ता । पुरा तु ब्राह्मविवाहे 'यथाशक्ति कन्यालंकृत्य दीयते यत्र स ब्राह्मो विवाहः' इति लक्षणलक्षिते पितृशक्यनुरूपमलंकारादि दीयते स्मेति युक्तं तदा श्वशुरेच्छानुवर्तित्वम् । किं च यौतकत्वेन तेषामलंकाराणां दानस्य सत्त्वात् पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधने तदन्तर्भावात् तत्पारिभाषिके स्त्रीधनात्मके शुल्के नान्तर्भवति । अधुना तु श्वशुरेभ्यो दीयन्तेऽलंकारास्तेन । एवं चोभयथापि विधवानां स्नुषाणामापात्तिः । यदि कन्यापितरो गुर्जरवत् कन्याधनं तदीयत्वेन वृद्धिं प्रापयेयुस्तर्हि तच्छ्रेयसे स्यात् ।

मिताक्षराकृतप्रभृतयो व्याख्यातारो निबन्धकृतश्च स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-प्रणेतृदेवणभट्टप्रभृतयः किमिति स्मृतिवाक्यार्थं विपरिवर्तयन्ति तदधुना विमृशामः । तत्र त्रयः कल्पाः प्रभवन्ति १ सर्वस्मृतिसमन्वयग्रहग्रहिलताया २ स्वसमयोपयोगिव्यवहारानुकूलकारित्वम् । ३ निबन्धान्तरखण्डनाग्रहो यदर्थं मीमांसाधिकरणलापनचातुरी वा । तत्र प्रथमपक्षस्य खण्डनमकारि प्रथमे व्याख्याने । तथाहि यदि गुणोपसंहारनिमित्तं समन्वयार्थं च स्मृतिसमुच्चयस्तर्हि किं सर्वासां स्मृतीनां, कतिपयानां स्वेष्टानां वेति पक्षत्रयमुपकल्प्य तदसंभवबोधनेन खण्डितम् । द्वितीयः पक्षः स्वसमयोपयोगिराजव्यवहारसाधनं तच्च यथा यथा प्रक्रियया संसाध्यते तामेव प्रक्रियां साध्वीं मत्वा विवरणं व्याख्यानिबन्धकृद्भिराद्रियते । इदं तु न दोषाय । यथा मनुस्मृतौ मौर्यसमयस्थो व्यवहारः संसाधितः शातवाहनसमयस्थश्च याज्ञवल्कीये, स्वातन्त्र्येण तथैव निबन्धादिषु तत्तत्कालिकराजव्यवहारस्य संसाधनम् । अयमनयोर्विशेषः । यत् स्मृतिषु तपःसामर्थ्यादिना स्वातन्त्र्यात् तथा प्रणयनम् । निबन्धादिषु तु तादृशसामर्थ्याभावात् समन्वयं समीहितस्मृतिजन्यं संसाध्य तदानींतनराजकीयव्यवहारप्रतिपादनम् । अत्र च तत्संसाधनपारवश्येन समन्वीयमानस्मृतिपौर्वापर्यं नालोच्यते । इदमयुक्तिमत् । किं च भिन्नकालजनिबन्धानां खण्डनमपि गले पतितं तच्चानुष्ठीयते महता परिकरबन्धनं तत्रैव चोपयोज्यन्ते मीमांसान्यायाः । एतेषां मीमांसाधिकरणानां त्वद्दिशी गतिर्यद्विभिन्नार्थकश्रुत्यर्थमुद्बोधयितुं प्रवृत्तानां तेषां विभिन्नार्थसाधकत्वमवश्यंभावि । तेन च परस्परविरोधेन प्रवर्तमानानामुभयेषामपि कार्यसिद्धिः । एवं च द्वितीय एव पक्षः । तत्संसाधक एव तृतीयः पक्षः । ईदृशी भवति निबन्धकृतां गतिर्यत् ते कदाचित् पाठान्तरमप्याद्रियन्ते

दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्राणां वापि चेभ्यते'

इत्यादिवत् । कदाचिद् दूरापेतमप्यर्थं व्याख्यान्ति । कानिचिद्विरुद्धवचनानि निर्मूलत्वेनोपेक्ष्यन्तेऽनुकूलानि समाश्रयन्ते च कल्पयित्वापि । किं वा कारणं न विद्मो निबन्धग्रन्थाः सर्वेऽप्येते न्यायनिर्णयार्थं न्यायालयं प्रविष्टाः स्मृत्यपेक्षयापि महत्तरं प्रामाण्यं भजन्ते च । एवमेतेषां (निबन्धकृतां) चातुर्यं दृष्ट्वा समालोच्य परिकल्प्य च युक्त्यन्तरं न्यायाधीशा हायकोर्ट-प्रिव्हीकौन्सिलस्था न्यायं निर्णयन्ति । यद्यपि ते स्मृतिनिबन्धादिविरुद्धं प्रतिपादयन्ति तथापि राजकीयसामर्थ्यात् तदेवाग्रे न्यायरूपं भवति तद्व-शस्थैरल्पन्यायाधिपैस्तदेव प्रामाण्यकोटिमान्नीयते व्यवह्रियते च तद्वदेव । भवन्ति चार्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो दण्डभाजः । अत्रैव विचारास्पदं सुधियामार्य-शास्त्राभिमतमताम् । अपि नामायं प्रवाह एवमेवाविरतमव्याघातं च प्रव-र्ततां येन चार्यशास्त्रसंस्कारा अपनीता भवेयुरथ वा केवलशास्त्रैकदर्शनां धर्मशास्त्रपारावारपारीणानां विदुषां संहतिः स्नेहबुद्ध्या राजालयं गत्वा बोधयेदेवं न्यायोऽन्यायपथमाटीकत इति तत्र द्वितीय एव पक्षः सुधीसंमतः स्यात् । तदर्थं भाव्यमेवैतादृश्या संसदा नातिचिरेण कालेन सह संगत्य । तत्र चापेक्ष्यन्ते नव्यप्राचीनव्यवहारशास्त्रकोविदा येन व्यवहारे स्यात् सौहित्यम् । अत्रार्थे प्रवर्तमानाऽस्ति काचित्संसत् । प्रयत्यते च तया स-बहुमानमेतत्कार्यसंपादने मन्ये तथैव संसदा तत्तद्देशसभ्यद्वारा कुत्र देशेषु के विरुद्धा व्यवहारनया धर्मशास्त्रविहत्यै प्रभवन्ति तेषां सर्वेषां निर्देशं विधाय प्रभूतजनसमितिं संपाद्य पूर्वोक्तरीत्या राजकीयविधि-नियममण्डले नियमानुसारमुपस्थातव्यम् । बोधनीयाश्च ते ते न्याया यथा-शास्त्रम् । येंऽऽविकलास्ते तस्मिन्नेवांशे याथातथ्यमापादनीयाः । सुगृहीत-नामधेयमाडगांवकर, पाटकर, जयकर, अद्यतनाध्यक्षमहाभागसदृशा अधुना हिन्दु लॉ रिसर्च ऍड रिफाम समितिं समतिष्ठिपन् । यत्र च वेदशास्त्रसंपन्नसरस्वतीभूषणवामनशास्त्रिकिजवडेकरसदृक्षाः प्राच्य-विद्याकोविदा साहाय्यमाचरन्ति तस्याः संसदः समालम्बेन स्यात् कार्य-सिद्धिरसंदेहमिति मन्ये तदर्थं च सर्वैः शास्त्रप्रेम्णा प्रवर्तनीयमिति प्रेष्ठ-श्रेष्ठसभास्तारमिश्रेषु साञ्जलिबन्धं विज्ञाप्य विरमामि । ततः प्रागावश्यकं राजकीयाधिकारितत्प्रेरक- डॉ० श्रीपाद कृष्ण बेलवलकरप्रभृतीनामनु-ग्रहभरोद्वहनं करोमि । मया च मुष्टिपचमतिना यदत्र निबद्धं तत्साध्व-साधु वेति विविच्य यथाप्रसङ्गं बोधनीयोऽहमिति संप्राथ्यं जोषंभावं समाश्रयामि । इति शम् ।

इति षष्ठं व्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ॥

**प्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरस्य कार्याध्यक्षैः
डॉ० श्रीपाद कृष्ण बेलवलकर—इत्येतैः कृतं
प्रास्ताविकं भाषणम् ।**

आयि महाशयाः, तत्तच्छास्त्रनदीष्णा विद्वद्वरेण्याः, गुरुवर्याणां 'डॉक्टर भाण्डारकरानां' महनीयं नाम बिभ्रतः प्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरस्य कार्याध्यक्ष-पदे नियुक्तोऽहं मन्दिराधिकृतां प्रतिनिधीभूतः सन्नयास्मिन् शुभसमये तत्रभवतामे-तत्सभास्थानमलंकुर्वतां सर्वेषां हार्दिक्यं स्वागतं व्याहरामि । न खल्वेतदत्रभवता-मविदितं स्याद्यथा सर्वथा प्रतिकूलेपीदानीतने समये राजकीयशासनानुसारेणात्र-त्यविद्याधिकारिणः वेदशास्त्रादिप्राचीनविद्याध्यापकानां पाण्डितप्रवराणां, तथा च तदध्ययनाध्यापनैकपराणां संशोधनप्रकाशनादिकार्ये व्यापृतानां संस्थानामुत्तेज-नार्थं प्रतिसंवत्सरं किमपि द्रव्यव्ययं कुर्वन्ति । इयं तु तेषां प्रवृत्तिः—अकरणान्म-न्दकरणं श्रेयः—इति न्यायेनापि भृशमभिनन्दनीया । व्ययप्रकारस्तु प्रकाशितेभ्यः शास्त्रीयपुस्तकेभ्यः पारितोषिकप्रदानम्, प्रकाशार्हाणां तादृशपुस्तकानां प्रकाशार्थं साहाय्यवितरणम्, अथ च कंचन शास्त्रविषयमधिकृत्य व्याख्यानानि प्रयच्छतां विदुषां संभावनादिकरणम्—इत्यादिको वर्तते । तदर्थं चेका नियामिका समितिरपि वर्तते । अद्यारभ्य अस्मिन् संशोधनमन्दिरे श्रीमद्भिर्वेदशास्त्रपारावारीणैर्वेदान्तवागीशैः श्रीधरशास्त्रिभिः प्रदास्यमाना व्याख्यानश्रेणिरिवंप्रकारेण विद्याधिकारिभिरनुमता पुरस्कृता च वर्तते । व्याख्या-नार्थं निमन्त्रणादिव्यवस्था तु अस्माकं संशोधनमन्दिरेण न केवलं राजशासन-मिति किंतु स्वीयप्रेरणयापि महता प्रमोदेनाङ्गीकृता । यतः एतादृशा व्याख्या-नादिप्रसङ्गा यद्यनेकशः अत्र मन्दिरे भवेयुः तदा एव मन्दिरस्यास्य “ प्राच्य-विद्यासंशोधनमन्दिर ” मित्यभिधानं सार्थकतां प्राप्नुयात् ।

अस्तु नाम । तदद्य वेदान्तवागीशानां शास्त्रिमहाशयानां प्रथमव्याख्याना-वसरे अध्यक्षपदं विद्वद्वरेः धर्मशास्त्रनदीष्णैः 'पाण्डुरङ्ग वामन काणे' इत्येतैरलं-कृतव्यमिति विषये अत्रभवतां पुरतोऽहं सूचनां करोमि । एते महाभागाः अत्रत्यानां सर्वेषां पारिचिता एव वर्तन्ते । धर्मालंकारादिशास्त्रेष्वेतेषां प्रावीण्य-मेभिः प्रणीतानां ग्रन्थानां द्वारा न केवलं भारते वर्षे किंतु पाश्चात्यदेशेष्वपि विद्वद्भिः सशिरःकम्पमनुमन्यते । एभिः आङ्ग्लभाषया प्रणीतो भारतीयधर्म-शास्त्रस्येतिहासः मन्ये अद्यावधि एभिर्निर्मितानां ग्रन्थरत्नानां मेरुरिव वर्तते । तदेवंगुणविशिष्टा अध्यक्षता अद्यास्माभिरधिगता इति मन्ये महद्भाग्यमेतदस्य प्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरस्य तथाचास्या संसदः । अत एव मदीया अध्यक्षपद-विषयिका सूचना अनुमोद्यतां भवद्भिः सभास्तारैरिति सप्रभ्रयं प्रार्थये ।

धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यानमालाया उपक्रमावसरे श्रीयुत पाण्डुरङ्ग वामन काणे इत्येतेषां प्रास्ताविकं भाषणम् ।

आयि विद्वद्भ्याः । सुदिवसोयमय यन्महामहोपाध्यायोपपदविभूषिताः श्रीमत्पाठकमहाशया धर्मशास्त्रीयव्याख्यानषट्कमध्यात्प्रथमस्य व्याख्यानस्य करिष्यन्त्युपन्यासम् । धर्मशास्त्रं विषयो भवादृशाश्च शास्त्रमर्मज्ञाः श्रोतारोनेक-विधावगाहनपवित्रितचेतसो वृत्तस्वाध्यायसंपन्नाः श्रीमत्पाठकशास्त्रिणश्च व्याख्या-तारः । एवमय सकलगुणानां समुदयः समुपस्थितः । एकमेव तु वैगुण्यमत्र दृश्यते यन्मादृशोस्मिन्महामङ्गलधाम्नि समयेध्यक्षपदवीं प्रापितः । गीर्वाण-भाषाया विरलप्रचारत्वाद्वात्रिदिवमाङ्गलभाषया व्यवहरतो मम न सुकरः संस्कृतभाषया विषयोपन्यासो नैव च मया स्वाध्यायो नैरन्तर्येणाधीतो न वा शास्त्राणि परिशीलितानि नापि च वृत्तिः शास्त्रादिष्टेन एषा क्रियते । सभापति-पदं मां प्रापयद्भिर्भवद्भिः स्नेहपरवशमानसैर्महान् मय्यारोपितो भारः । ये केचन दोषा वाक्चापलाय प्रचोदितेन मया कृता भवेयुस्तान्क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति भवन्तः ।

प्रथमं तावत्को धर्मः किमस्य स्वरूपं तत्र सुनिपुणं विचारणीयम् । चोदनालक्षणोर्थो धर्मः, यतोभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसिद्धिः स धर्मः, श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः, इज्याध्ययनदानानि तपः सत्यं दमः क्षमा अलोभ इति मार्गोयं धर्मस्याष्ट-विधः स्मृतः, अहिंसा परमो धर्मः, इत्याद्या विविधा धर्मस्य व्याख्याः कृतास्तेषु तेषु प्राचीनेषु ग्रन्थेषु । किं तु वर्णानामाश्रमाणां कर्तव्यकलापो धर्म इत्येव व्याख्या साधीयसी 'त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः,' 'धर्मं चर,' 'स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः' इत्यादिश्रुतिस्मृति-वाक्यैरुपदिष्टा ।

अधुना किं धर्ममूलं तद्विवेचनीयम् । मन्वादिस्मृतिषु श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वात्मतुष्टिरित्यादीनि धर्ममूलतया समुपन्यस्तानि । तत्र श्रुतिषु तावन्न कण्ठरवेण वर्णानामाश्रमाणां धर्मा विहिताः किंतु केवलं धर्मशास्त्रविषय-काणि तानि तान्यर्थवादरूपाणि वाक्यानि समुपलभ्यन्ते । तानि यथा—'मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्,' तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति,' 'तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवक्लृप्तः,' 'केवलाघो भवति केवलादी' इत्यादीनि । वेदे धर्मशास्त्र-विषयकविधीनामभावादापस्तम्बेन 'मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्' इति एषैव श्रुतिः सम्यगर्थस्य प्रापिका 'ज्येष्ठो दाय्याद इत्येके तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम्' इति सूत्रद्वयं प्रणयता प्रतिष्ठापितम् । तस्माच्छ्रुतिस्तावन्न धर्मशास्त्रे निर्णायकं प्रमा-णम् । कैश्वनाचार्यैः स्मृतीनां प्रामाण्यमुत्सन्नवेदमूलमिति महता संरम्भेण घोष्यते । किंतु तदिदं न तथा संतोषं विश्वासं वा जनयति । सुकरमेव सर्वेषां बौद्धादीनामपि वक्तुं यदुत्सन्ना वेदपाठास्तेषां मतान्युपोद्बलयन्तीति । तस्मादु-त्सन्नवेदशास्त्रमूलत्वं सर्वस्मृतीनां प्रामाण्यार्थं नैवादरणीयमिति प्रतिभाति ।

स्मृतिष्वपि बलाबलविचारो न सुनिश्चयः । शताधिकानां स्मृतीनां मध्यात्का श्रेष्ठा कस्या वशेनेतरा नीयेरन् इत्येव तावन्निश्चेतुं सुदुष्करम् । मदीये धर्मशास्त्रेतिहायविचारके ग्रन्थे स्मृतीनां कालनिर्णयाविषये महता प्रबन्धेनोप-
न्यासः कृतः । भिक्षेषु भिक्षेषु कालेषु स्मृतयः प्रवृत्ता इति तत्र प्रदर्शितम् । पराशरेणापि सम्यगुक्तं 'कृते तु मानवा धर्माः' इति । धर्मशास्त्रीयनिबन्धकारैः पूर्वमीमांसायां महर्षिणा जैमिनिना प्रतिष्ठापिता न्यायाः स्मृतिवाक्यविचारेषु समुपाश्रिताः । यत्किञ्चिदेकस्यां स्मृतौ नोपलभ्यते तदन्यस्मृतितस्तस्मिन् तस्मिन् विषय उपसंहरणीयमिति निबन्धकृतां पन्थाः । सर्वस्मृतीनामेकवाक्यताकरणाय सर्वैर्निबन्धकारैर्महान्यत्नः क्रियते । यत्रैकवाक्यता दुष्करा तत्र विकल्प आश्रीयते, अथवा काश्चन स्मृतयो युगान्तरविषया इति समाधानं समुपक्षिप्यते ।

एतस्मादेव कारणात् केषुचित्पुराणेषु सर्वेषु निबन्धग्रन्थेषु कलिवज्ज्यं नाम प्रकरणं दृश्यते । कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्ते कलिवज्ज्यानीतिर्था समुदीरितानि -

मयं गोहयगोश्वमेधकरणं ज्येष्ठांशकोद्धारणं
व्यूढायाः पुनरुद्धहं वरसुरातिथ्यर्थमन्तं पशोः ।
आदशात्सहजस्त्रियां सुतजनिं ब्रह्मव्रतं निष्ठया
वानप्रस्थगतिं कमण्डलुधृतिं स्तेयान्यपाप्युद्धृतिम् ॥
सङ्कोचं गुणवत्तयाधनिकृतौ युद्धोद्यतास्त्राद्विज-
प्राणान्तं द्विजपापनिष्कृतिमसुभ्यां विप्रशामित्रकम् ।
मातुर्वंशसपिण्डजापरिणयं हीनादथाच्चाहर्तिं
दत्तारस्कसुतान्यपालनमिराग्राहं च सौत्रामणी ॥
सोमस्य क्रयणं प्रमां च शकुने सामुद्रिकोपश्रुत-
स्वप्रादिष्वसवर्णजोद्धहमथो विप्राब्धिनीप्रस्थितिम् ।
प्रस्थानं महद्भिहोत्रहवणीलेहावलीढग्रहा-
वित्यादीनि कलौ त्यजेदथ हरेराख्यागुणान् कीर्तयेत् ॥

इति । अत्र समुदीरितानि कर्माण्येकदा धर्मव्यपदेशभास्त्रि समभवन् कालवशा-
त्तानि लोकाविद्विष्टानि संजातानि पश्चादधर्मपक्षे स्थापितानि । एतस्मादेवमनु-
मीयते यत्तेषु तेषु कालेषु श्रुतिस्मृतिषु समनुमोदितानि चोदितान्यापि वा कर्माणि
यदि लोकाविद्वेषस्थानं भवन्ति तदा तानि त्याज्यानि भवन्ति । तेषां त्यागेन न
कोप्यधर्मः सुतरां जायते प्रत्युत धर्म एव कृतो भवति ।

स्मृतीनां पुराणानां च परस्परं विरोधो दृश्यते । तत्र कथं वर्तितव्य-
मेतदापि सम्यगालोचनयिष्यम् । श्रीमद्भिर्नीलकण्ठभट्टेर्मीमांसकधुरंधरेपि व्यव-
हारमयूखे प्रतिपादितं यद् दत्तकविषये कालिकापुराणवचनं यमलविषये
भागवतवचनं वा तत् न तथा प्रमाणपदवीमारोहति 'पुराणेषु स्मृतिविरुद्धा-
चाराणां बहुशो दर्शनात्' इति ।

शिष्टानामाचारो धर्मभूलाति गौतमवसिष्ठापस्तम्बमनुयाज्ञवल्क्या-
दिभिः स्मृतिकारिः प्रतिपादितम् । बौधायनेन च पञ्चधा विप्रतिपात्तिराचार-
विषया दाक्षिणात्येषु उदीच्येषु च प्रदर्शिता । 'आचारः परमो धर्मः' इति
मनुना गीयते । तस्माच्छिष्टानामाचार एव धर्म इति वक्तुं युक्तम् । किंतु
बहवो निबन्धकृतो वदन्ति यदि शिष्टाचारः स्मृतिविरुद्धस्तदा न सोनुसर्तव्य
इति । 'यत्तु समानं तद्वक्ष्यामः' इति आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रं व्याचक्षणेन हरदत्ते-
नोक्तं 'तेन जनपदादिधर्मस्य वक्ष्यमाणस्य च विरोधं वक्ष्यमाणमेव' इति ।
शिष्टाचारश्च मन्दमतिभिरपि द्रष्टुमनुसर्तुं च सुकरः । तस्मात् 'महाजनो येन गतः
स पन्थाः' इति शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां यदुक्तं तदेव लोके बहूनां कर्तव्यं
भवति । शिष्टाश्च के इति तावद्वक्तव्यम् । तत्र तत्तिरीयोपनिषदि 'ये तत्र
ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनां युक्ता आयुक्ता अलृक्षा धर्मकामाः स्युर्यथा ते तेषु वर्तेरन्
तथा तेषु वर्तेथाः' इत्युपादिष्टम् । विदुषां धर्मकामानां नित्यमद्वेषरागिणां शिष्टानां
परिषद् यन्धर्म इति निश्चिनुयात्स एव धर्म इति व्यवसासुं सांप्रतम् ।

अधुनातनानां केषांचिद्वं मतं यत्नवीना स्मृतिर्विरचनीयेति । यदा यदा
हि कोपि ग्रन्थः स्मृतिरिति समाद्रियते तदा तदा न स नवीनो भवति । तस्मात्
न कोप्याधुनिको ग्रन्थः स्मृतिव्यपदेशभाक् भवेदास्मिन्काले । किंतु प्राचीनां
विचारसरणिमनुसृत्य मीमांसकन्यायानुपाश्रित्य देशकालां वीक्ष्य यदि कश्चिन्
निबन्धो रचितो भवेत्तर्हि महानुपकारो भवेत् । नैष आधुनिकानां आग्रहो
यत्समुद्रयान-प्राढस्त्रीविवाह-अस्पृश्यस्पर्शनादि-विवादास्पदीभूतानामाचाराणां
सुधर्मत्वेन स्वीकारः सर्वैः कर्तव्य इति किंतु ते त आचारा यदि कैश्चित्कृता
भवेयुस्तर्हि ते जना धर्मबाह्याः असंव्यवहार्याः पतिता भवन्तीति यत्कैश्चित्
सनातनधर्माभिमान्यर्महता कोलाहलेनोद्घोष्यते तन्न समीचीनं न तेन कोप्यर्थः
सनातनधर्माभिमानिनामपि घटेत ।

एवं येषु येषु विषयेषु सर्वेर्विचारः कर्तव्यास्ते त ईषन्मात्रं प्रदर्शिताः ।
श्रीमत्पाठकमहाशया अधीतसर्वधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धत्वात् परिचिताधुनिकविचार-
सरणितया च व्याख्यानषट्के सर्वेषां विषयाणां विवरणं करिष्यन्ति धर्म-
शास्त्रविषयेषु सनातनीयानामाधुनिकानां च संमतं कमपि मार्गमुपदेक्ष्यन्ति
इत्याशासे ।

CONCLUDING LECTURE

BY

RAO BAHADUR R. R. KALE, B. A., LL. B.

Presiding on the occasion of the concluding lecture of the series of 6 lectures on Hindu Civil Law arranged under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, with special reference to the Dāyabhāga i. e. the principles of inheritance and succession, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B. A., LL. B., M. L. C., Advocate (O. S.) Satara, bringing the proceedings to a close observed as follows:—

Mahāmahopādhyāya Shridhar Shastri Pathak of the Deccan College has undoubtedly done a great service in bringing together various texts from the different Smṛtis and their Commentaries bearing on Hindu law of दायभाग and endeavoured to point out how in some respects the Judicial decisions of the British Courts have departed from the true import of the Dharma Shastra. He has also shown a critical faculty in discussing some of the points arising under Hindu Law. If such a use is made by old Shastris in their interpretation of the Law in the present changed times, the work of research and reform will be very much facilitated. It is creditable to the learned Shastri that he has frankly admitted the futility and impossibility of reconciling all the Smṛtis. At the present time much is talked about the Hindu Dharma (rules of conduct) governing the Hindu Society.

प्रियते अनेन (लोकः) स धर्मः । तं शास्तीति धर्मशास्त्रम् ।

which means Dharma is that which holds the society together and Dharma Śāstra means the science which teaches the principles by which the society is to be governed. Manu has stated

श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वे स्मृतिः ।

When therefore we have to consider about Dharma-Śāstra, we ought to look to the Smṛtis. Now these Smṛtis have undergone a change according to the circumstances from time to time as is clear from the verse

अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्माः त्रेताया द्वापरेऽपरे ।

अन्ये कलियुगे नृणाम् युगद्रासानुरूपतः ॥

and finally it is said in the Mahābhārata Vanaparva --

तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयो विभिन्नाः ।

नेको मुनिर्यस्य वचः प्रमाणम् ।

धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायाम् ।

महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥

in the last verse Mahājana is to be interpreted as meaning great straightforward men (महाश्र्वांसौ जनश्च महाजनः). Accordingly Smṛtis have necessarily varied according as the surroundings were changed. The Smṛti Books are thus not lasting authorities for all times invariable and immutable. They laid down different rules for different times and particular Smṛtis prevailed in particular ages—

कृते तु मानवा धर्माः त्रेतायां गौतमाः स्मृताः ।

द्वापरे शाङ्गुलिखिताः कलौ पाराशराः स्मृताः ॥

What is called as the 'Sanātana Dharma' are the eternal verities of morality and religion which stand for all times and for all places. It is not relevant for our present purpose to undertake any exposition of these and therefore I shall turn to the Smṛta Dharma or Dharma Śāstra.

A historical retrospect of the Smṛtis will go to show that this Dharma (rules of conduct) has undergone a change according to circumstances and the different authors of the Smṛtis and their commentaries and digests have evolved a reform suited to the times and our task should be to follow in their foot-steps. At present a controversy has arisen as to whether any new Smṛti should be prepared and if so by whom and in what manner. In my opinion the present Legislative Councils are the natural successors of the Smṛtikāras and it is they who ought to introduce the necessary changes suitable to the present trend of enlightened opinion; and in doing so they might take support from the old texts or extracts from commentaries. Laws are the collective wisdom of statesmen and leaders of enlightened public opinion. From this point of view, if instead of one single individual laying down rules, a few leaders would after exchange of views formulate any rule of conduct that will assume the form of a Smṛti and will be a binding if passed in law. Jaimini, the propounder 'of

Codanā Lakṣaṇa Dharma ' has said in 26th Sūtra of the 1st Section of the 1st Chapter

“ सनियमात् प्रयोगसंनिकर्षः स्यात् ”

and Mr. Dhaphatary of Nagapur has in his book of Dharma-rahasya adopted the same line of thought; he has shown by various quotations from the Śrutis and the Smṛtis that the present rules of conduct both in private life and in relation to Society must be governed by the opinions of selfless Statesmen and leaders of the present day.

There are more than 100 Smṛtis but 3 of them are the principal ones and they are Manu, Yājñavalkya and Parāśara in order of time. Each Smṛti is divided into 3 parts; one dealing with Ācāra, the 2nd with Vyavahāra and 3rd with Prāyaścitta. As regards the 1st, it has undergone a vast change according to the changed times and this is but natural. If we take for instance Varṇāśrama Dharma. In the 1st two Smṛtis, we find only 6 avocations prescribed for the Brāhmins viz. अध्ययन—अध्यापन दान-प्रतिग्रह यजन-याजन. To this Parāśara adds a seventh viz. Kṛṣi i. e. agriculture. So also his permitting of widow remarriage under the text

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।

पञ्चसु आपत्सु नारीणाम् पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ १ ॥

is well known. At the present moment the question of removing untouchability has become a live issue. Now this is included in the Ācāra portion of the Dharma Śāstra and who will not say that it deserves an interpretation suited to the trend of enlightened public opinion and lay down a rule which will be in consonance with it. It is not our present purpose to discuss the Ācāra section of the Smṛti. We are on this occasion concerned with the chapter on Vyavahāra which formed the subject matter of the series of 6 lectures delivered in this Institute. This Vyavahāra Chapter covers a very wide field which it is impossible to traverse in the short time at my disposal. I therefore propose to confine myself to a few observations on the rights of women to property and its inheritance.

In vedic times the word Dampati showed equal rights of the husband and wife as being the two masters in a family. Whatever is acquired by one belongs to both, since Jaimini says

दम्पत्याः सहाधिकारात् and again दम्पत्योर्मध्यगंधनम्. So also in later times Yājñavalkya's text says पत्न्यः कार्याः समांशकाः and Vijñāneśvara's Commentary on it expounds it thus:—"when a division takes place (during the life time of the husband if he makes it, or after his death when his sons make it), a wife is entitled to get a share equal to that of a son. In later times however when the meaning of the word 'share' was limited to a portion sufficient for maintenance, that this was a wrong interpretation was shown by Vijñāneśvara by stressing the word सम (equal). Similarly that the wife becomes the heir of her husband in the absence of a son is the clear text whether the husband died as a member of a divided or undivided family, but the interpretation that the wife becomes an heir only if the husband died a divided member was a limitation put upon her right which is contrary to the original theory of joint and equal rights of husband and wife. If the husband and wife are both equal co-parceners, the wife if she survives her husband should be the sole surviving co-parcener, or if there are more co-parceners, one of the co-parceners. The following Text of Brhaspati lays down the correct status and rights of a woman—

पूर्वं प्रमीताग्निहोत्रं मृते भर्तरि तद्धनम् ।

विन्देत्पतिव्रता नारीः धर्म एष सनातनः ॥

So also the वृद्धमनु has a similar text.

अपुत्राशयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रतं स्थिता ।

पत्न्येव दद्यात् तात्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमंशं लभेत च ॥

So the conclusion is that a wife should get an equal share if the husband makes partition among his sons and of course she should get as she does get at present an equal share when the sons make among themselves a partition. Further even if the husband died an undivided member, the wife should get his share after his death as she is the one survivor out of the two along with husband's other co-parceners. After having seen that a widow should inherit her husband's share both when the husband dies as a member of an undivided or divided family, the next question that arises as to her rights in the property so inherited. The limitation which has come to be placed on her proprietorship that she should have only a life estate in it is not reasonable. It seems to have been based on a narrow interpreta-

tion of a text in the Kātyāyana Smṛti. Vijñāneśvara achieved a great step in the progress of women's rights by including in the word 'आय' (in the Yājñavalkya's definition of what constitutes Stridhana) the property of a widow obtained by inheritance, thus making it, her Stridhana proper but the restriction on such Stridhana that she takes only a life interest in it seems perhaps due to a desire on his part to disarm the opposition then prevailing to women's rights generally. The Author of Dāyabhāga propounded the theory of a widow getting her husband's share in undivided property after her husband's death on the ground of her being an equal co-parcener in the joint property of her husband and other Members of her family; but he put a limitation that the widow should have only a life interest so that other co-parceners should take the estate as reversioners after her death. The same compromise seems to have been effected by Vijñāneśvara when he included the inherited property of a widow in her Stridhana but limited her enjoyment of it for her life. If at the present time we proceed to accept the interpretation of the author of Dāyabhāga that a separation in interest should exist even when the family is joint and also apply it to Mitākṣara School, we shall have achieved a great step in advance in regard to the injustice to widows in an undivided family.

In short the time has now come in the evolution of widow's rights to make them absolute just as daughters and sisters have absolute rights to property inherited by them. Thus the evolution of women's rights which was begun by Yājñavalkya and his commentator Vijñāneśvara should now be completed in the manner above indicated ; such a process will be in consonance with the tradition of women's rights as they existed in Vedic Times and for this, further support may be found in the following text of the Smṛti of Bṛhaspati :—

आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः ।
 शरीरार्थं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥ १ ॥
 यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्थं तस्य जीवति ।
 जीवत्यर्थं शरीरेऽर्थं कथं अन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥ २ ॥
 सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृमातृसमानिभिः ।
 असुतस्य प्रमीतस्य पत्नीतद्भागहारिणी ॥ ३ ॥

Thus a resume of the past history of the women's rights will show how they were affected from time to time. In Vedic Times

women enjoyed equal rights. Then there was a re-action and again a reform which has to be borne in mind in order to adopt further line of progress to restore women to their original status. In the race of progress all over the world if we remain static, we shall not be able to hold our own. If we want to keep alive our Dharma Śāstra, we must bring about the necessary progress and reform in it by resorting to the traditional method of keeping before our eyes our Sanskrit and spiritual ideals and I am convinced that in this way the Dharma Śāstra will be a living force. We cannot ignore the law of the survival of the fittest. It will not therefore be possible to stick to existing customs all and sundry. It is futile to ask people to do so. What is the use of raising the slogan 'religion in danger', every time, as for instance in the matter of touching the so-called depressed classes. Several of the old customs and rules and usages have already died out. It is no use crying that each Varna should observe its own avocations. A change has already taken place as it is must in course of time. It is impossible to resist the force of the waves of changing times. Of what use is it therefore to preach that we should stick to all the externals of religion ; but we must look to the spirit and act accordingly. I would conclude by quoting a Śloka in the Bhagavat Gītā together with its interpretation by Śrī Jñāneśvara since in my opinion it furnishes an excellent guide as to how all educated and reasonably minded persons should act at this critical juncture in our society.

“ यावानर्थं उदपाने सर्वतः संश्रुतोदके ।

तावान्सर्वेषु वंदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ”

“जरी वंदे बहुत बोलिले । विविध भेद सूचविले ।

तच्ची आपण हित आपुले । तोचि धेपें ॥

जैसा उदयता गभस्ती । अशेषही मार्ग दिसती ।

परितेतुलेहि काय चालिजती । सांगे मज ॥

कां उदकमय सकळ । जरी जाहले महीतळा

तरी धेपें केवळ । आतांचि जोगें ॥

तैसे ज्ञानी जे होती । ते वेदार्थातें विवरिती ”

मग अपेक्षित तें स्वीकारिती । शाश्वत जें ॥

—श्रीज्ञानेश्वर

चरमदिनव्याख्यानावसाने कार्यध्यक्षैः कृतमाभारप्रदर्शनादिकम् ।

अयि श्रेष्ठाः । अध्यक्षमहाशयानां समारोपात्मकं भाषणं विहायापरः सर्वो व्याख्यानविषयकः कार्यक्रम एतावत्पर्यन्तं संपूर्णः संजात एव । किंतु समारोपात्पूर्वमवश्यं विधेयं किमप्यन्यत्सुमहत् कार्यमवशिष्टं वर्तते । तन्निमित्ता ममात्र प्रवृत्तिः । प्रथमव्याख्यानदिने मया निवेदितमेव यथेयं व्याख्यानश्रेणिः शिक्षणाधिपतीनामाज्ञानुसारमेतस्मिन् प्राच्याविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरे दीयते । तदर्थं च व्याख्यातृवर्येभ्यः पण्डितप्रवरैभ्यः पाठकोपाह्वश्रीधरशास्त्रिभ्यो दातव्यत्वेन नियमितं रूप्यकशतद्वयपरिमितं पारितोषिकमथैव अन्तिमव्याख्यानसमाप्त्यनन्तरं दातव्यमिति अधिकृदनुशासनम् । एतादृशे संकटप्रचुरेऽपि समये अस्माकं प्राचीनशास्त्राणामुत्तेजनार्थं धर्मतः देशतः संस्कृतितश्च विभिन्नानामपि राजदण्डधारिणामेतादृशी सुश्लाघ्या प्रवृत्तिः कस्य हृदये संतोषं नावहेन्नाम । शिक्षणाधिकारिणां प्रेरणया दीयमानेयं तृतीया व्याख्यानश्रेणिः । एतत्पूर्वं एका वटोदरस्थेनैकेन पण्डितेन अहमदाबादस्थगुर्जराविद्यालये दत्ता, द्वितीया तु मोहमयीस्थेनापरेण पण्डितेन एल्फिन्स्टन्-विद्यालये दत्ता । किंतु व्याख्यानविषयस्य सार्वजनीनत्वं, श्रोतृवर्गस्य न केवलं संख्याकृतं किंतु अधिकारकृतमपि गौरवं, तथा व्याख्याकृतां सरला, मनोहारिणी च व्याख्यानसरणी, इत्येत्सर्वं मनसि कृत्वा विचार्यमाणे इयं व्याख्यानश्रेणिर्यथा सुश्लिष्टा सौभाग्यावहा च संजाता तथा न मन्ये अपरा कापि । अत एव प्राच्याविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिराधिकृता विज्ञप्तिर्यथा अतःपरं यदीदृशी कापि विषयान्तरमधिकृत्य व्याख्यानश्रेणिः शिक्षणाधिकारिभिर्निश्चीयेत* तर्हि सापि अत्रैव संशोधनमन्दिरे भवितुमर्हति । तदर्थं च यः कोपि अल्पो वा भूयान् वा व्ययः अपेक्ष्यते तं कर्तुं मन्ये मन्दिराधिकारिणः सुतरां सज्जाः सुप्रीताश्च भवेयुः । अस्तु नाम । इदानीं युष्मदनुज्ञया एतत् राजदत्तं पारितोषिकं व्याख्यातृभ्यः प्रदातुमध्यक्षमहाशयान् विज्ञापयामि ।

अपरं चान्यदपि निवेदनीयमस्ति । विदितमेव स्यादेतदत्र भवतां सभास्ताराणां यथा एते वेदान्तवागीशाः श्रीधरशास्त्रिणः त्रिचतुरमासानन्तरं सेवानिवृत्ता भूत्वा

* अहो दौर्भाग्यमस्माकं यत्तथास्माभिर्मुक्तकण्ठमभिर्नान्दिता राज्याधिकारिणामियं प्रवृत्तिरेतद्व्याख्यानपट्टात्मकं चरमं फलं प्रदर्श्य नितरां विरामं प्राप्ता वर्तते इति । सर्वेषां सुपरिचिता आर्थिकी दुःस्थितिरत्र कारणत्वेनापदिश्यते किल । देवो दुर्बलघातकः — इति न्यायेन तच्च यथाकथंचिच्छ्रद्धातव्यमेव । अपि नाम कोपि विद्यारसिको विद्याधिकारिभिः स्वस्कन्हादपरोपितामिमां धुरं वोढुमग्रेसरो भवेत् ।

अस्माकमिदं लौकिकं सार्वजनीनं पुण्यपत्तनं विहाय नर्मदातीरे वसन्तः तत्रैव किमपि पारलौकिकं पुण्यपत्तनं आरचयितुकामाः किल । इयं हि सुमहती हानिः स्यादस्माकं पुण्यपत्तनस्य यत् श्रीधरशास्त्रिसदृशं विद्यारत्नं पुण्यपत्तने एव सेवानिवृत्त्यनन्तरमपि सुप्रतिष्ठितं न भवति । भवतु । दुरुल्लंघनीयो हि विधिः । एतैः श्रीधरशास्त्रिभिः अस्माकं प्राच्याविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरद्वारा प्रकाश्यमानायां ग्रन्थश्रेण्यां त्रिचतुराः पाण्डित्यप्रचुराः ग्रन्थाग्रथिता वर्तन्ते - यथा स्वनिर्मितबालबोधिनीसमेतं बालभीयमणुभाष्यम्, पातञ्जलमहाभाष्यशब्दसूचिश्च । अपरेपि सटीका ग्रन्था एतैर्निर्मिताः प्रायः सर्वेषामत्रभवतां परिचिता एव विद्यन्ते । तथा च संशोधनमन्दिरे यानि व्याख्यानानि एस्म. ए. परीक्षार्थं प्रयतमानानां छात्राणां कृते गतत्रिचतुरसंवत्सरेषु प्रदत्तानि तत्रापि एते महाभागाः धर्मवेदान्तालंकारादिशास्त्रेषु अंशभागिनः आसन् । अतः एतत् सुतरां प्राप्तकालं यत् संशोधनमन्दिरेणापि पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोयम् इति न्यायेन किमपि स्मृतिचिह्नं शास्त्रिप्रवरेभ्यः प्रदीयेत । तच्चेदं महावस्त्रं श्रीफलसाहितं एभ्यः श्रीमतामध्यक्षाणां हस्तेनात्र सप्रश्रयं वियोगदुःखोन्मिश्रं च वितीर्यते । तत् स्वीकृत्यात्र भवन्तः श्रीधरशास्त्रिणः अस्मानुपकुर्वन्निवृत्याशंसे ।
